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ABSTRACT

This publication is an outcome of a conference sponsored by Emory University's Center for Urban Learning/Teaching and Urban Research in Education and Schools. The essays included in the volume address how to build schools and educate youth in ways which honor, build on, and involve all students and citizens, and the importance of preparing multicultural democratic teachers. Following a preface by James W. Fraser, the seven essays are: (1) "Critical Knowledge, Skills, and Experiences for the Instruction of Culturally Diverse Students: A Perspective for the Preparation of Preservice Teachers" (Carl A. Grant); (2) "Knowledge, Skills, and Experiences for Teaching Culturally Diverse Learners: A Perspective for Practicing Teachers" (Marilyn Cochran-Smith); (3) "Preparation and Professional Development of Teachers: A Perspective from Two Latinas" (Sonia Nieto and Carmen Rolon); (4) "Teacher Education from an African American Perspective" (Asa G. Hilliard, III); (5) "Caring for the Whole Child: Asian Pacific American Students" (Valerie Ooka Pang); (6) "Preparation and Professional Development of Teachers for Culturally Diverse Schools: Perspectives from the Standards Movement" (Mary Hatwood Futrell and Elaine P. Witty); and (7) "Location, Location, Location: A Synthesis Perspective on the Knowledge Base for Urban Teacher Education" (Jacqueline Jordan Irvine). References are included at the end of each paper. (ND)

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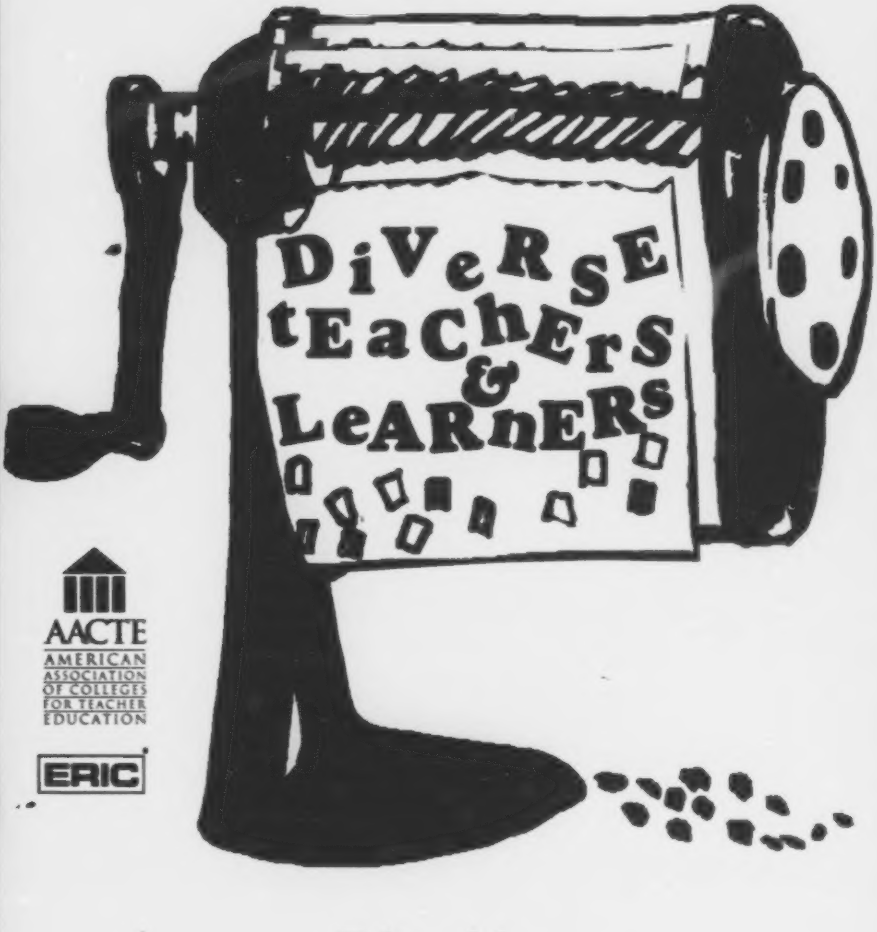
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Preface

James W. Fraser

Critical Knowledge for Diverse Teachers and Learners, an outcome of a conference sponsored by Emory University's Center for Urban Learning/Teaching and Urban Research in Education and Schools, might well be titled "What Matters Most." The essays included in this volume point us to a question which is at the heart of democratic education. How can we build schools and educate our youth in ways which honor, build on, and involve every student and every citizen? This question, and not proposals to change the structures or hours of study in schools or teacher preparation programs, is the one which will decide the future of U.S. society in the 21st century. The skills, knowledge, abilities, and attitudes of tomorrow's teachers can be shaped in a wide variety of preparation programs. What matters, as these authors remind us so forcefully, is that we keep our focus on the attributes of multicultural democratic teachers themselves. For anyone who cares about these issues, this book is essential reading.

As World War II was drawing to a close, W.E.B. DuBois (1944) reminded us of similar lessons. "It is a misuse of the word education," DuBois said, "to think of it as technical training." Technical training is important—for teachers and for all citizens. But we need more. "Manifestly the civilized people of the world have got to be characterized by certain things; they must know this world, its history and the laws of its development." And finally DuBois warned of the consequences of not insisting on the broader understanding of education. The 20th century has seen enormous advances in technical mastery.

> And yet, on the other hand, this world is in chaos. It has been organized twice in the last quarter of a century for murder and destruction on a tremendous scale, not to mention continual minor wars. There is not only this physical disaster, there is the mental and moral tragedy which makes us at times despair of human culture. (pp. 249–252)

Half a century later, if we are to avoid despairing of human culture, indeed if we are to build a different and more human culture for the citizens of the United States and the world in the next century, then we need schools, curriculum, and most of all teachers who understand and respect their many different students and the capacity of these students to build a different and more humane culture. The essays in this volume represent a resource for that enterprise.

Early in this volume, after having reviewed some of the battles about the shape of the canon to be taught in school, Carl Grant demands that we focus on the fundamental question about the nature of the role to be played by tomorrow's teachers:

> By "nature of the teachers' role," I mean, will teachers be merely conduits of knowledge, passing on the official knowledge given to them? Or will teachers only selectively and minimally add to the official knowledge they have been instructed to teach? . . . Or, will teachers seek to change the concept of what counts as official knowledge and include multiple perspectives, different paradigms of analysis, and infuse discussions of race, class, and gender into their teaching? The choice teachers make will for a large part depend upon the knowledge, skills, and experiences they have acquired during their teacher preparation. (p. 21)

This is, indeed, the question which must be at the center of debates about the future of teacher preparation.

The leaders of the conservative assault on multiculturalism have answered this question clearly and concisely. For too many the historian Arthur Schlesinger (1991) has defined the official knowledge which teachers should teach and students should learn:

> For better or for worse, American history has been shaped more than anything else by British tradition and culture. Like it or not, as Andrew Hacker, the Queens political scientist, puts it, "For almost all of this nation's history the major decisions have been made by White Christian men." To deny this perhaps lamentable but hardly disputable fact would be to falsify history. (p. 24)

In Schlesinger's history of the United States, Grant's question is easily resolved. There is nothing for teachers to do but to pass on official knowledge, or perhaps to add a few examples here and there of the rare woman or person of color who made a contribution.

There is, however, a fundamental problem here. Schlesinger's history is both bad history and a dangerous perspective for citizens of an increasingly diverse nation to hold. If only presidents and powerful leaders make history, then he may have a case. But if history is made by the people—the incredibly diverse mix of people who have shared this land for the last four centuries—then he is just plain wrong. And Grant is right, teachers need to be prepared to understand the historical and political issues raised in Schlesinger's foolishness and to move beyond it. They need "to seek to change the concept of what counts as official knowledge and include multiple perspectives, different paradigms of analysis, and infuse discussions of race, class, and gender into their teaching." They also need to engage with their students in a new understanding of the differing power relationships among citizens of different races, class, and genders throughout history. Such a challenge demands a much more critical and sophisticated version of teacher education than any which has been available or than any which is proposed in most of the current calls for higher standard and new levels of certification or professional status. Yet nothing less will serve the needs of society.

Critical Knowledge for Diverse Teachers and Learners thus stands as a sharp rebuke to Schlesinger and the many reactionaries who are seeking to undermine a multicultural approach to what is taught and who is included in the nation's story and its future. This book is also a rebuke to those who would shape teacher education around standards and requirements rather than skills-knowledge-abilities and especially attitudes which will allow teachers to be critical intellectuals, able to challenge the current nonsense and able to engage their students in a different discourse about this country's past and future.

If this volume led to an agreement among a significant number of today's educators that the issues posed here should be at the center of schooling and teacher education, that would, indeed, be significant progress. But it would not be enough. Marilyn Cochran-Smith poses the next set of questions to which we must attend.

> What assumptions do teachers and students of all ages bring to school with them about "the self" and "the other"? What understandings do they have about meanings, cultures, and families that are not like their own? . . . Is it possible and/or desirable to strike a balance between pedagogy and curriculum that are supportive of the racial, cultural, and language identities students bring to school with them and that, at the same time, prepare students to negotiate but also critique the current power structures of schooling and society? (p. 35)

This extraordinary set of questions needs to be at the heart of future conferences and publications and, more important, these questions need to be at the heart of efforts to restructure teacher education and ultimately schools. This volume is a call for teachers and future teachers to devote significant efforts examining their own understanding of themselves—and their cultures—and their students—and their sometimes quite different cultures—while also helping their students, "negotiate but also critique." What a long way from the primary foci of teacher preparation today!

Following Grant's and Cochran-Smith's framing of the issues, Sonia Nieto and Carmen Rolón, Asa Hilliard, and Valerie Ooka Pang provide a detailed discussion of the issues which teachers and future teachers should know in responding to Latino/a, African American, and Asian students. While no teacher can understand all of the reality of any other culture, much less the many different cultures represented in some of today's classrooms, every teacher can develop a series of critical skills and perhaps most important, attitudes of curiosity and respect, which will foster a sense of engagement, for the students and for the teacher. Teachers who are prepared to approach their profession, and their students, in this way will find these essays a significant resource in expanding their own knowledge base in ways which will serve the long-term process of engagement. It clearly takes hard work, it may require learning a second language, it certainly involves asking hard questions of oneself and one's students, but the resources for knowing about the diverse cultures in today's urban classrooms are clearly available. Indeed, the essays in this volume are an ideal place to start. The old excuse, "I can't find material on different cultures," simply will not hold anymore.

These central essays, while offering a wealth of important information, also provide a way out of one of the impasses currently marking many of the debates about the teaching profession. Too often the conception of teacher as nurturer has provided the basis for a view of teachers as literally "understanding their students to death," as the nurturer who understands and responds to students as they are without then calling the students to a higher standard or setting higher expectations. On the other hand, in response to some of the softness of the nurturer approach, many today are calling for a return to an authoritarian image of the teacher who demands high standards and provides few, if any, of the supports which will allow students to meet the standards.

Asa Hilliard provides a much better alternative in his analysis of the African tradition of teacher as "elder." Hilliard asks an important question, "What is the nature of teacher education for teachers who are to be nurturers, who do not doubt the capacity of their students, who respect the culture of their community?" (p. 138). Similarly, Nieto and Rolón describe a teacher whose high standards are not centered in the distant ones of national reports but in a daily stance of "I expect you to," by someone who obviously cares, and who therefore accords students respect, including the respect of high expectations (p. 110). And Ooka Pang insists, "Teachers need to ask students more questions, listen more carefully to what students are saying, and engage students more often in conversation" (p. 157). The teacher as elder, standard setter, and listener is one who nurtures and understands, but who also never doubts the student's capacity for success. This is the teacher who can help all students succeed, who can help all students not only meet high standards but take their own places in a long-term democratic process of redefining the standards for their own generation and their own culture. It is a topic worthy of further exploration beyond the confines of this volume.

Mary Hatwood Futrell and Elaine Witty bring this volume full circle with a careful review of the changing needs in teacher education programs and a ringing call for all citizens to remember that, "the future of democracy in American depends, perhaps more than any time in our nation's history, on the political will of local, state and national leaders to live up to the promise of quality education for all" (p. 221). The wonderful thing about this volume is that it not only makes this call clearly and unmistakably, it offers leaders and all citizens a detailed definition of "quality education for all," which is truly democratic.

I cannot conclude without returning to Marilyn Cochran-Smith's call for Whites who will be "the White ally" in the multicultural endeavor (p. 40). As a White person writing this introduction, I agree and I also want to say more. Whites need to enter the multicultural endeavor as allies, but as allies who understand themselves to be equals in the fullest meaning of the term. This means that White allies in the quest for a truly multicultural school and society must always be careful of Paulo Freire's (1970) warning. They must not fall into the trap of the elitist converts to liberation struggles who, ". . . truly desire to transform the unjust order; but because of their background they believe that they must be the executors of the transformation. They talk about the people, but they do not trust them; and trusting the people is the indispensable precondition for revolutionary change" (pp. 46–47). If heeded, these words would have saved many from grief and from rejection from the very people with whom they have sought to be allies.

On the other hand, the White ally who becomes apologetic, who becomes a self-defined, second-class citizen is useless. The reality is that Whites, descendants of European immigrants, have a range of cultures which they too bring to the multicultural enterprise, cultures which should take their place as no more and no less relevant than any other. Many European-Americans have a very hard time with this. We have all heard White students say, "I have no culture," which really means "I'm part of the only culture that counts so I don't have to examine my part in it." But it also represents the worst form of cultural imperialism to move from saying "my culture is the only one," or at least the properly dominant one, to saying, "I have nothing to offer." Indeed, the "I have nothing to offer" response usually represents a means of excusing oneself from engagement and protecting a sometimes more private version of cultural elitism. Unless we are all in this together, unless African Americans, Asians, Latino/as, Whites, and representatives of all of the nation's other cultural groupings join in a mutual enterprise as allies and as coparticipants, the development of a new, inclusive, and ever changing common culture will be an illusive dream.

Critical Knowledge for Diverse Teachers and Learners appears at an important moment in this nation's political and cultural development. Many voices are turning their backs on multiculturalism as somehow "soft" when the nation's economy demands a "hard" commitment to high standards. But unless the concerns of this volume are heeded, the call for standards will become but the latest means of continuing the century-old tradition of using schools as "sorting machines" in which the lucky (and usually White male) few are prepared for success and the majority are excluded from major benefits of the economy and the culture. *Critical Knowledge for Diverse Teachers and Learners* provides the opportunity for a radically different way of looking at schools and the purpose of schooling. Sincerely democratic educators can use the material here to build a different classroom and a different vision of society—one which is truly inclusive—in the cultures represented and in the definition of success. If, and only if, the themes of this volume are attended to well can the outlook for the 21st century be an optimistic one for the majority of the nation's citizens. This is the challenge for those who would read and engage this volume.

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Critical Knowledge, Skills, and Experiences for the Instruction of Culturally Diverse Students: A Perspective for the Preparation of Preservice Teachers

Carl A. Grant

This chapter will provide a synthesis of the critical knowledge, skills, and experiences preservice teachers need to teach culturally diverse students. Over the past two decades, much has been written about the challenges and barriers teacher education programs need to confront and overcome to prepare teachers to work with culturally diverse students. The discussions have focused on three approaches: (1) Reconfiguring the traditional paradigms that guide teacher education and creating instead a paradigm for education that is multicultural-social reconstructionist (e.g., Gordon, 1995; Grant & Gomez, 1996; Larkin & Sleeter, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 1994); (2) Supplementing the traditional teacher education paradigm by including some ethnic studies content, having some part of the field experience take place in a multicultural site, and/or recruiting more students of color (Cooper, Beare, & Thorman, 1990); and (3) Allowing the traditional paradigm to persist, accompanied by the arguments that because of a university's location, the issue of academic freedom, and existing attention to cultural diversity, there is no need for the university to take further action or make additional changes.

In teacher education, however, "knowledge, skills, and experiences" have multiple meanings. They are not defined by a codified or core conception of accepted teaching methods and actions, and they take place in many different contexts. This is true for any program operating in the three paradigms mentioned above. This essay can contribute to the search for critical knowledge, skills, and experience for teaching culturally diverse students by first establishing definitions for these terms, and then by examining how these three important elements are employed in teacher education programs and recommending how they must be changed. This essay begins with a discussion of knowledge, followed by a discussion of skills and then experience. At the end of each section, the critical components will be presented. The chapter concludes with a short reflective statement.

KNOWLEDGE

> [T]he issue of what qualifies as knowledge in teaching—as well as whose knowledge matters—affects teachers' lives and constitutes many of the most pervasive, frustrating philosophy/reality conflicts. (M. Renck Jalongo & J. P. Isenberg, 1995, p. 16)

Over the last three decades, an increasing number of scholars have devoted attention to discussion of knowledge about teachers and teaching (Scheffler, 1965; Green, 1971; Bruner, 1977; Fenstermacher, 1978; Schwab, 1978; Smith, 1980; Shulman, 1987; Reynolds, 1989; Grossman, 1990; Houston, 1990; Banks, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Cortez, 1995; Gordon, 1995; Jalongo & Isenberg, 1995; Smith, in press; Grant & Dilworth, in press). Some of these discussions consider knowledge in ways that are important to working with culturally diverse students (Banks, 1995; Gordon, 1995; Grant & Dilworth, in press). However, most ignore and/or provide limited discussion of knowledge about culturally diverse students. Of these discussions, most are benign, superficial, or negative. When knowledge is discussed in education and teacher education, two areas usually receive major attention—"sources of the knowledge base" (where knowledge come from) and "structure of knowledge" (how knowledge is connected). Initially, I also will focus on these two areas, but specifically in relationship to culturally diverse students. The reason for this is: (1) Investigating the source of the knowledge base is fundamental to understanding how and from what knowledge curriculum may be constructed for culturally diverse students (e.g., multiple perspectives, narratives by scholars of color, women scholars, traditional scholars); (2) Structure of knowledge is important to the connectedness and relationship between and among different approaches and components important to teaching culturally diverse students; and (3) An understanding of both sources of the knowledge base and structure of knowledge is essential to understanding and deciding upon the teaching skills and school experiences necessary for teaching culturally diverse students.

Source of the Knowledge Base

Here stand I, my name is Jowett,
If there's knowledge, then I know it;

I am the master of this college [Oxford],
What I know not, is not knowledge.

Jowett (Quoted in Gates Jr., 1992, p. 109)

According to McMurray and Cronbach (1955), "Knowledge refers to those parts of the culture which help the individual to choose among possible actions" (p. 29). They go on to state, "By our definition knowledge includes standards of value, customs, and technical insights, for all of these guided actions" (p. 29). Bruner (1962) states that, "Knowledge is a model to give meaning and structure to regulates in experience" (p. 120). Scheffler (1965) claims:

> [T]hat attributions of knowledge . . . express our standards, ideals, and tastes as to the scope and proper conduct of the cognitive arts. They reflect, for example, our conceptions of truth and evidence, our estimates of the possibilities of secure belief, our preferences among alternative strategies of investigation. (p. 2)

The statement by Jowett at Oxford, and McMurray and Cronbach's (1955), Bruner's (1962), and Scheffler's (1965) definition of knowledge include reference to "model" and "standards." Both "model" and "standards" in most Western thought exclude or marginalize people of color, women, and the poor when considering actions and regularities in daily life experiences. Gordon (1995) illustrates this point when she discusses the source of most of our socially constructed reality.

> The generation of social knowledge, science, cultural artifacts—indeed, all of our socially constructed reality—is partially influenced and informed by historical, cultural, and political contexts. This becomes particularly clear when one critically examines the paradigms traditionally used by dominant White U. S. society to understand and control subjugated groups. The Darwinist, or "evolutionary," perspective, and the way it is articulated within the Western canon, it is for White Westerners (including those in the United States) the prevailing conceptions of what constitutes "natural law as it relates to the conceptualization of human beings." (p. 185)

It is because of this narrow view about where knowledge comes from that scholars of color and feminists scholars are criticizing the traditional sources of the knowledge base and notions of knowledge and demanding that what counts as official and/or legitimate knowledge include diverse perspectives and different regimes of truth.

"Sources of the knowledge base" as formulated in Spencer's famous question of the 19th century, "What knowledge is of most worth?" and in Bruner's 20th-century questions,"What shall be taught, when and how?" was mainly concerned with which discipline and/or subject matter (e.g., physics, mathematics, science, psychology) would receive greater attention in schools. Little or no consideration was given to "knowledge" that would seriously include the thinking of culturally diverse people, or "knowledge" that would address the history and culture of non-White students and women, or its importance to those students and the rest of society.

The age-old debate on the "source of knowledge" or "What knowledge is of most worth?" has been recast in a new form.

During the last two decades, the age-old debate on the "source of knowledge" or "What knowledge is of most worth?" has been recast in a new form. At the federal level, the debate is reproduced within the "excellence in education" argument and/or the educational reform efforts espoused in such national documents as the A *Nation at Risk* and Education 2000. At the state level, the knowledge of most worth that has been advocated is more basics, and the core area subject matter emphasized has been science, mathematics, and technology.

During this same time, while the knowledge debate was being recast as a return to the basics, scholars of color and women were demanding a paradigm shift regarding what counts as official knowledge. Gates (1992) states:

> Few commentators could have predicted that one of the issues dominating academic and popular discourse in the final decade of the twentieth century—concomitant with the fall of apartheid in South Africa, communism in Russia, and the subsequent dissolution of the Soviet Union—would be the matter of cultural pluralism in our high school and college curricula and its relation to the "American" national identity. (p. xi)

The broadening of the source of knowledge debate to become more than an argument over preference for the "knowledge of the sciences" or the "humanities," but to additionally consider "source of the knowledge base" and "What knowledge is of most worth?" from culturally diverse perspectives has been both a major accomplishment and the growth and development of a major (canon) debate. Only recently have excluded groups had the legal standing and tools to challenge the status quo. However, when they have been successful, they have been accused of legislative meddling and litigiousness. Now, conservative groups are making a concerted effort to assert traditional moral and social values under the rubric of making our society more responsive and less complex.

Two illustrations of the source of knowledge debate at the state level are the California Social Studies Textbook controversy (see Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995; King, 1992) and the New York State Social Studies Curriculum Guideline dispute (see Cornbleth & Waugh, 1995). These debates were over the exclusion and/or marginalization of the history and culture of people of color, women, and other oppressed groups in the school curriculum of these respective states.

The argument over "the canon," the inclusion of nontraditional curriculum in the humanities curriculum on college campuses and in schools across the country, and who "gets to create public culture" is fundamental to answering the question of "What knowledge is of most worth?" for preservice teachers, because ultimately all teachers must deal with the question posed by Cornbleth and Waugh (1995).

> Is knowledge to be taken as discovered, certain, and universal, as the supporters of an established canon would have it? Or is knowledge to be taken as constructed, provisional, and contingent, as opponents of an established canon would argue? Despite the temptation to simplify the question in a true-false, good-bad fashion, the canon-master narrative issue simultaneously raises questions about the nature of knowledge, valued literature-culture-history, and power relationships. (p. 43)

Teachers' Source of Knowledge

During this current "knowledge" debate, the demand for reform in teacher education has accelerated. Fundamental to this reform effort is a call to establish a knowledge base for teacher education, and the professionalization of teaching (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Holmes, 1986). Shulman (1987) argues that this call is based upon the premise that standards by which the education and performance of teachers are judged should be raised and more clearly articulated. However, he chastised those educators who claim there is a knowledge base for teachers and that it is growing:

> The rhetoric regarding the knowledge base, however, rarely specifies the character of such knowledge. It does not say what teachers should know, do, understand, or profess that will render teaching more than a form of individual labor, let alone be considered among the learned professions. (p. 4)

Recognizing the shortcomings of the knowledge base argument, Shulman (1987), Grossman (1990), and others have sought to remediate this problem by developing models for a knowledge base in teacher education. For example, Grossman's model has four major components: Subject Matter Knowledge (Syntactic, Content, Substantive structure); General Pedagogical Knowledge (Learners and Learning, Classroom Management, Curriculum and Instruction, Other); Pedagogical Content Knowledge (Knowledge of students' understanding, Curriculum Knowledge, Knowledge of Instructional Strategies); and Knowledge of Context (Community, District, School).

I believe that a discussion of Grossman's model can help educators in traditional teacher education programs to understand what needs to be done to change their programs. It also can help multicultural scholars see how they can enter this dialogue and bring about the necessary reconfiguration of teacher education programs.

Subject Matter Knowledge

Traditionally, subject matter knowledge for prospective teachers emphasizes the disciplines in humanities and sciences, e.g., literature, English, history, physics, chemistry, mathematics. The comprehension of subject matter knowledge in a discipline would indicate that the prospective teachers know its major ideas and concepts, as well as the relationships between them. It would also signify that the structure of the discipline and the different paradigms within it have been learned, and the "canons of evidences and proofs" and their evaluations are understood. A thorough grounding in subject matter knowledge (e.g., humanities and sciences) is important to teaching culturally diverse students for several reasons. First, many culturally diverse students have poor achievement scores in reading/language, mathematics, and science, and an understanding of these disciplines is important to making connections with students who are struggling to learn the concepts of the discipline. It is difficult for teachers to confidently and enthusiastically teach science and mathematics, or history and literature, if their knowledge is based primarily on relying upon instructional guides. Research by Sadker and Sadker (1994) points out that usually females—who make up most of the teaching corps —have not been encouraged to take advanced level courses in math and science. Thus, they come to teacher education with a minimal understanding of the concepts and structures of these disciplines, and the knowledge of how to present them in a manner that takes into account life circumstances of culturally diverse students (Grant & Sleeter, 1986).

In addition, common refrains from culturally diverse students on why they dislike schools are it's "'boring' and 'what they teach ain't about me.'" Culturally diverse students echo these refrains because prospective teachers have not received the subject matter knowledge that prepares them to teach in an engaging and culturally responsive manner (Larkin & Sleeter, 1995).

Teacher educators sometimes forget that many of the prospective teachers in their programs grew up in the United States at a time when public policy extolled the belief that social opportunities and economic privileges were available to all people. Unlike the teaching corps that was educated in the 1960s and to some extent the 1970s, current preservice teachers have seen the television news and other media reports that do not show a great deal of social unrest in the United States. Nor does the media consistently offer daily lessons about why there is a need for a better nation. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and John and Robert Kennedy are, for the most part, a few lines or pages in their textbooks and an occasional TV sound bite. Thus, many of the prospective teacher corps need a re-education to more fully understand the social and economic events, policies, and procedures that make up the history of this country, and serve as the prologue to present-day attitudes and behaviors.

> **Since knowledge is socially constructed, it must take into account multiple traditions and perspectives.**

Furthermore, many prospective teachers believe that knowledge is "neutral," not favoring one group over another but leading to privileges for some and inequities for others. A thorough grounding in a discipline can enable prospective teachers to learn and believe that knowledge is neither neutral nor "discovered" but instead constructed by groups often with implicit and explicit attempts at control. Since knowledge is socially constructed, it must take into account multiple traditions and perspectives. To illustrate this, an examination of children's literature might be helpful.

In Western cultures, the story of Cinderella is frequently read to young girls. In the original version, Cinderella, the heroine, is portrayed as "fair" and "good." Her goodness is supported by her kindness to others even when they are cruel to her. Further, she never stands up for herself or assumes responsibility for her life. Instead, she passively accepts whatever she's offered, even when her life has little meaning. To escape her life of toil and service to her stepmother and stepsisters, she adorns lavish clothing to lure the handsome prince. Her only strength is her beauty and goodness, but Cinderella is successful in capturing the prince's heart with her looks. The prince's only stated value is his wealth and position. In fact, his intelligence is questionable since even after an evening of dancing with her, he never asks her name or anything about her. Instead, when searching for her, all he knows is her foot fits the glass slipper. Staying true to her described character, Cinderella waits passively while the prince searches for her. Once they become reunited, they are purported to live "happily ever after" because they wed. Cinderella remains "fair" and "good," being kind to her wicked stepfamily by finding her sisters rich husbands.

Much of this story line is found in other authentic cultural tales. Literary devices that define female beauty and attributes, the female's primary means of escaping poverty and toil, the male role, and family interactions cross cultural lines. Further, the image of the slipper is found in many tales. However, what differs is how beauty and goodness are defined (see, for example, Brown, 1954; Steptoe, 1987), how the young woman escapes her dreary life (see, for example, Martin & Shannon, 1992), how active and intelligent the male figure is (see, for example Brown, 1954; Steptoe, 1987), and how supportive the family may be. In addition, in some tales the male is absent and the female finds an alternative to wealth (see, for example, San Souci, 1989) and the family is more loosely defined as the tribe (Martin & Shannon, 1992). At the same time, nestled within all this variety, females are portrayed as obedient, good, and beautiful beings who must depend on someone or something else to be successful. None present women as active intelligent people who can be responsible for their own lives, who are not always good, and may not be beautiful. More literature is attempting to confront these literary constructions of femininity (e.g., Jackson, 1994), but young girls of all cultures may be reading texts that help them construct their roles as passively accepting their life and looking to men to "save" them.

This lengthy example is an attempt to demonstrate how one aspect of our knowledge is constructed within texts. Many young American women accept such definitions of femininity without question. Instead of seeing these as constructions, they see Cinderella as a representative of what they should be. Many teenage girls strive for perfect beauty by constantly dieting to be the thinnest and most beautiful. African American and Hispanic young women may have lowered self-concepts because they cannot be "fair" like Cinderella. Instead of a reality to be discovered, femininity is constructed through such texts. This privileges those few young women who "fit" the constructed model, but closes many doors for others who may adopt the passivity and never question the possibilities of other models. Reading these tales with a critical stance can reveal how womanhood is socially constructed.

So what does this one relatively minor example have to do with my argument? First of all, most prospective teachers are White, middle-class women, many of whom have accepted this literary definition of their roles. The teaching force may change significantly if young women are taught to study and analyze such literature, not with only from the perspective of its literary qualities but also as means of defining and/or redefining womanhood. If they studied a variety of Cinderella tales, comparing and contrasting how women are portrayed, they might find bonds that connect them to other women, regardless of race, ethnicity, and social class. They might question their need to be passive recipients of a White, male construction of the world. Once this has occurred, they might change their classrooms' contexts by providing instruction that fosters growth among all children. Instead of being guided by implicit rules of femininity, they may well make informed decisions that could foster greater learning environments for their students. As this demonstrates, one small change in our acceptance of knowledge as "reality" can have profound implications for educating our teachers and our children.

General Pedagogical Knowledge

The study of teaching (e.g., Gage, 1963; Good & Brophy, 1994; Travers, 1973) arguably represents the longest systematic effort to provide teachers with knowledge to make their teaching effective. This effort has included investigations into many areas of pedagogy, such as learners and learning, classroom management and discipline, and curriculum and instruction (see, for example, Winitzky, Kauchak, & Kelly, 1994).

Some areas of investigation, such as classroom management and discipline, often have great appeal to prospective teachers. For the most part, however, the discussion on classroom management is based upon traditional notions of student classroom behavior (e.g., sitting like little soldiers, remaining silent, raising your hand to speak). Although such behavior is believed to be an important part of preparing for the "real world"—i.e., being a dependable, trainable worker in a capitalist society—it ignores the fact that it may stifle creativity in favor of standardization and conformity. This discussion also ignores that there can be more than one acceptable idea of correct and appropriate behavior, and that a particular behavior, bound in a cultural tradition, is expected in school. Young African American males are often singled out for "unacceptable behavior" and sent to the principal and/or special education classes because their behavior is inconsistent with "appropriate" classroom behavior that teachers have been taught in either the teacher preparation program or in their own homes. Teachers fail to understand that because students are working quietly does not mean that learning is taking place. Similarly, teachers fail to understand that when students get off-task, e.g., chat with their friend, look out the window, walk about the room, they are not incapable of being taught. Often, these students are bored and need to be taught in a way (multicultural perspective) that makes schooling meaningful to them.

It is in part because of the history of this area, the lack of understanding about how culture and community mores influence it, and its perceived importance to prospective teachers that it needs to be understood. By history, I mean much of the past research on pedagogical knowledge was designed to produce teaching prescriptions that ignored students in general. Therefore, it especially ignored or marginalized the needs of students of color. Also, most of the past and present pedagogical research that does consider students of color and poor students usually examines their classroom interaction patterns. These interaction patterns are examined within an undeclared paradigmatic framework, but nevertheless, one that is not usually supportive of culturally diverse students (see, for example, Heath, 1983; Michael, 1984).

Finally, as many prospective teachers learn that there is no escaping having to teach culturally diverse students, their search for the "magic bullet" that will help them to have classroom control becomes intensified. Therefore, it becomes essential that the teacher preparation program helps prospective teachers to deconstruct the "magic bullet" myth and learn that general pedagogical knowledge, like any other form of knowledge, must be socially constructed to take into account the specific group of students in a classroom and other contexts, such as the school's location and resources.

Pedagogical Content Knowledge

Extremely important for prospective teachers of culturally diverse students is the *orchestration of subject matter and pedagogical knowledge*. Grossman (1990) reminds us that Dewey, in 1902, recognized the importance of this orchestration when he argued that teachers must learn to "psychologize" their subject matter for teaching. In other words, Dewey wanted teachers "to rethink disciplinary topics and concepts to make them more accessible to students" (Grossman 1990, p. 8). To my way of thinking, "more accessible" includes making subject matter relevant to the background and life experiences of the student. Shulman (1986) recognizes the importance of pedagogical content knowledge, so I quote him at length, but with a caveat: To make subject matter comprehensible to K–12 students, the examples, analogies, and explanations, where possible, need to consider their background.

> A second kind of content knowledge is pedagogical knowledge, which goes beyond knowledge of the subject matter per se to the dimension of subject matter knowledge for teaching . . . Within the category of pedagogical content knowledge I include, for the most regularly taught topics in one's subject area, the most useful forms of representations of the ideas, the most powerful analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations, and demonstrations—in a word, ways of representing and formulating the subject matter that make it comprehensible to others. Pedagogical content knowledge also includes an understanding of what makes the learning of specific topics easy or difficult; the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topic and lessons. (pp. 9–10)

Explicit in both Dewey's and Shulman's statements are the need not only for rigorous grounding in academic disciplines, but also a thorough understanding of pedagogy. For example, in 1990, when I served as dean of the Teach for America Summer Institute, I had the opportunity to conduct numerous classroom observations in urban schools (Los Angeles area) of prospective teachers who were very well grounded in their academic discipline(s). Most had spent four years at one of this country's leading universities achieving excellence in their subject matter, and many were able to provide examples and illustrations to explain their subject matter (what I would consider as one aspect of pedagogical knowledge). Within this number, however, few possessed what I would consider the other aspect of pedagogical knowledge, the aspect that enables them to make their examples and illustrations of the subject matter knowledge relevant to the lives and experiences of the student. Their lack of this aspect of pedagogical knowledge and their inability to connect it with their subject matter knowledge often led to missed opportunities to relate academically to the students and make school and learning a positive experience. "Powerful analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations, and demonstrations" of subject matter that include multiple perspectives, presented in ways that take into account students' life experiences, circumstances, and dreams are understandings of knowledge that teachers of culturally diverse students must develop.

Knowledge of Context

Over the last decade, "context" has become an increasingly popular word among educators. Teachers, researchers, and policymakers are increasingly recognizing that knowledge of the specific students being taught, and the culture of school, community, and the district is important information for prospective teachers to know (e.g., Moll, 1990; Trueba, 1990, 1991). However, it is equally as important for prospective teachers seeking knowledge of context to avoid shortcuts to their development of knowledge by employing false understanding, e.g., believing that phrases like "student from single-parent home," provides insight into the lifestyle and academic expectation of the students and their families, or using such labels as "at-risk," which often lead to inaccurate knowledge about the "context," thereby leading to the miseducation of culturally diverse students.

Structure of Knowledge

Another area of "knowledge" that is important when determining the knowledge necessary for teaching culturally diverse students is the "structure of knowledge." "Structure" in education parlance means how disciplines and subject matter are related, their "interconnectedness." Bruner (1977) states:

> Grasping the structure of a subject is understanding it in a way that permits many other things to be related to it meaningfully. To learn structure, in short, is to learn how things are related. (p. 7)

A traditional structure for school knowledge has four pedagogical categories: natural science, social science, mathematics, and humanities. These broad groupings and their related disciplines serve as the fountainhead for school knowledge. Structure helps students to see the interconnectedness between courses like "American Government" and "Politics of the World Economy" and/or between disciplines like chemistry and physics. Also, structure should help students to see the relationship and interconnectedness between different categories of knowledge (e.g., natural science-social science). Although discussions of structure are often present as a *spiral* within the context of a single discipline (e.g., physics), discussions of a broad field and/or interdisciplinary structure is increasing. Advocates of interdisciplinary structure argue that disciplines do not operate alone in the real world. For example, mathematics (e.g., statistics) is used to provide politicians with demographic data and voting patterns of the different groups of citizens in a hotly contested race. A history of these different groups can provide politicians with information about their customs, beliefs, wants, and needs. Understanding the structural link between disciplines (statistics and history) and among categories of knowledge (social science and mathematics) is important to successfully conduct human affairs. Addressing the importance of understanding the disciplines within the social sciences because they can all contribute to better understanding humankind Bellack (1973) states:

> The social sciences—economics, social psychology, political science, sociology, anthropology, and history—are all seeking explanations of the same phenomenon, man's social life. (p. 109)

Although proponents of culturally diverse instruction see the structure of the four categories of knowledge and their related disciplines as important, they argue that students need to understand an additional structure of knowledge, one that is both spiral and interdisciplinary. A spiral and interdisciplinary structure makes clearer the relationship and interconnectedness between problems and issues in the study of race, class, and gender; power and privilege; and equity and equality. The work of Banks (1991, 1994, 1995) has made a major contribution to the development and understanding of the knowledge structure for multicultural education. Banks believes that multicultural knowledge components must be interdisciplinary and conceptual. Banks (1991) states:

> When students study a concept such as culture, they can gain a global understanding only by viewing ethnic culture from the perspectives of the various social sciences and by examining the expressions of ethnic culture in literature, music, drama, dance, art, communication, and foods. Content and insights from science and mathematics can also be incorporated into an interdisciplinary study of culture. (p. 35)

Greater attention needs to be brought to a structure of knowledge that takes into account the interconnectedness of race, class, and gender, as these concepts are presented throughout K–collegiate schooling (see, for example, Bossard, 1994; Grant & Sleeter, 1986). Understanding and acting upon the interconnectedness and/or the lack of interconnectedness of these concepts is necessary for the instruction of culturally diverse students. At a personal level, for example, teachers need to understand that they have membership in multiple groups (e.g., ethnicity/race, class, gender), and that they have access or lack of access to power

Both the source and structure of knowledge are important concepts for preservice students planning to teach culturally diverse students to understand.

and privilege. It is often the integration of these characteristics and access to power and privilege that influences the teachers' socialization, life opportunities, and way of teaching and relating to students (Grant & Sleeter, 1986). For example, in *White Teacher, Black School* (Parkey, 1983), the teacher's race, class, gender, and socialization contributed to the "culture shock" she received when she went to teach in an intercity school and was a contributing factor in her desire to leave. The teacher's desire to leave this intercity school is congruent with the desires of many other teachers (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education [AACTE], RATE publications, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990). According to these AACTE reports, White middle-class female teachers are more interested in teaching in the suburbs and/or locations similar to the ones in which they grew up (see also Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992).

The interconnectedness of race/ethnicity, class, and gender also can have a major influence at the classroom level. For example, a teacher needs to understand that her new students from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, all from Southeast Asia, bring different issues of race/ethnicity, class, gender, power, and privilege to the classroom. These characteristics are intraconnected within each Southeast Asian group, but are also interconnected across each Southeast Asian group based upon old histories, past political events, and recent resettlement and suffering. This interconnectedness and intraconnectedness needs to be considered when making classroom decisions.

Both the source and structure of knowledge are important concepts for preservice students planning to teach culturally diverse students to understand. Besides knowing structure and source of knowledge in the traditional form, in order to understand how it serves as an agent of oppression, it must be understood from a multicultural perspective in order to be used to help culturally diverse students.

Critical Knowledge for Preservice Teachers

- Knowledge is socially constructed; it is not neutral.
- Knowledge of the important influence of culture and language on learning and teaching.

- In-depth subject matter knowledge of at least one academic discipline
- Increasing knowledge of the history and culture of the different ethnic groups that make up the United States.
- Knowledge of race, class, and gender in U. S. history, and an understanding of their interconnectedness.
- Knowledge that pedagogy needs to be socially constructed based upon the classroom context and the residing students.
- Knowledge of how to develop a classroom context that fosters learning and enhances self-development.
- Knowledge of the specific students being taught, and the culture of the local school, community, and school district.
- Knowledge that subject matter does not operate alone in the real world; the intraconnectedness within disciplines and the interconnectedness among disciplines is important.
- Knowledge of one's cultural identity and multiple ascribed characteristics and their influences; and the influence of one's privileges and socialization upon one's life circumstances.
- Knowledge of the importance of using formal and informal research to identify and remediate classroom problems.
- Knowledge of the importance of an active, quality partnership between the home, community, and school.

SKILLS

"Skill" is not a popular term or conceptual idea in teacher education. When teacher educators usually discuss "skills," they are mentioned in a practical context; for example, technical skills of teaching that facilitate student learning and classroom management (see, for example, Cooper, 1980). Also, in teacher preparation programs, "skills" are conversation topics among preservice teachers as achievements and/or behaviors to be acquired through practice or training.

"Skill" is not included in any of the 48 chapter titles of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (Houston, 1990), and is listed only in the subject index twice, appearing on two pages. On these pages, a definition of skill is included along with a discussion of low-order and high-order skills, and skill acquisition. In my introduction, I noted the importance of the correlation between knowledge, skills, and experiences. I believe that teaching skills, especially for culturally diverse students, are sets of procedures or behaviors that require a fund of knowledge, often from different disciplines, and rich varied social and pedagogical experience. Norman (1980) also notes the interdependence of skills and knowledge.

> [T]he development of skills . . . depends on existing knowledge, its expansion, its restructuring, and its fine-tuning. (Quoted in Cruickshank & Metcalf, 1990, p. 470)

From Norman's work, we see the importance of continuous subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and pedagogical content knowledge growth and development for preservice teachers. Growth and development in these three areas will directly enhance skill development for teachers working with culturally diverse students. Additionally, Grossman (1990) links knowledge and skills, but sees "skills" as a "set of procedures."

> Skilled performance includes knowing what to do, when to do it, and how to do it. In other words, being skilled at something involves knowing a set of procedures, knowing when to apply those procedures, and being proficient at executing those procedures. (p. 37)

Grossman's ideas about skills are important to this discussion because by acknowledging that skills are a set of procedures, she makes clear that different funds of knowledge may be involved, and that the notion of "skills" as technical behavior learned through practice is too simplistic.

Additionally, for Schwab, "skills" are much more than technical behaviors; they are important to teachers' understanding and use of knowledge structure. Schwab (1978) contends that "the skills relative to discipline which a curriculum might impact are of three kinds: (1) the skills by which one applies the truths learned from a discipline; (2) the skills of enquiry by which the scholars of a discipline contribute new knowledge to that discipline; and (3) the skills of reading and interpretation by which one discovers meanings of statements that are embedded in a context of structure" (p. 237).

Let me further elaborate on Schwab's three skills. Schwab's first skill addresses the need for teachers to develop the ability to apply the truths learned from a discipline. Although this is an important teaching skill, as it stands for culturally diverse students, the use of the skill would be more effective if it included "asking whose truths are these?" and "are there not different versions of truths?"

The "skill of enquiry" is the second one. Enquiry is an important skill because teachers of culturally diverse students need to be continually examining their subject matter, context, and pedagogy. These inquiries, in the form of action research and other teacher initiated and controlled studies, can be reported in narratives and other forms of teacher stories and can add to the knowledge base of understanding of how to successfully teach culturally diverse students.

Schwab's final skill is that of reading and interpretation by which one discovers meanings of statement that are embedded in a context of structure. This is an important skill for prospective teachers of culturally diverse students. However, if the "discovery of meanings of statement embedded in a context of structure" is to have both relevance and fair access to learning for culturally diverse students, the context of the structure should be one that is responsive to cultural background.

Schwab's discussion of skills is useful because it recognizes that skills can be more than technical behavior, but it does not go far enough to acknowledge that many skills are not neutral; they are culturally bound. For example, the skills of enquiry of a feminist scholar and/or an African American scholar are influenced by a paradigmic framework different than that of a traditional White male scholar.

Many skills are not neutral; they are culturally bound.

Simply put, teaching skills for working with culturally diverse students must come out of a fund of knowledge from different disciplines that have been shaped by multicultural perspectives, and experiences that have been acquired from working with race, class, and gender issues and culturally diverse groups of people. The behavior and deposition learned by acquiring teaching skills in this manner increases the importance of the three kinds of skills advocated by Schwab and makes them more useful for working with culturally diverse students.

In *Teachers for the Real World*, B.O. Smith (1980) claims that teachers working with culturally diverse students need a rich assortment of skills in order to meet their varied backgrounds, learning styles, and aptitudes. He asserts that teacher preparation programs must not lose sight of the practice of providing the opportunity to learn skills in favor of teaching knowledge or subject matter (pp. 1–10). Although the educational literature provides only a paucity and narrow discussion of teaching "skills" and teacher education, students usually discuss them in terms of technical behaviors to be acquired through practice (work in schools). It is becoming increasingly clear that teaching "skills" needed for working with culturally diverse students are a set of procedures (simple to complex) that need to come from varied experiences, especially work with race, class, and gender issues and pluralistic groups, and a rich fund of knowledge from different disciplines that includes a multicultural perspective.

Critical Skills

- Teaching skills must be born out of a fund of knowledge from different disciplines that have been shaped by multicultural perspectives, and experiences that have been acquired from working with race, class, and gender issues, and culturally diverse groups of people.
- Skills to critique and present the knowledge learned in a discipline.
- Skills to model and demonstrate methods of enquiry in teaching subject matter and social knowledge.
- Skills to interpret and evaluate information presented about culturally diverse students (e.g., at-risk) in order to understand and/or discover how and why it is offered as policy and/or procedure.
- Skills to teach students how to examine their life circumstances and goals.
- Skills to effectively communicate with students' parents and community members from diverse backgrounds.
- Skills that enable teachers to involve their students in understanding, exploring, and acting upon their learning experiences.
- Skills to teach students to transfer what they learn to real-life applications.

EXPERIENCE

> It is not enough to insist upon the necessity of experience, nor even activity in experience. Everything depends upon the quality of experience which is had. (Dewey, 1938, p. 27)

Maintaining "quality" school experiences, including field experiences, in general, is difficult to achieve. Zeichner (1980) states:

> [I]t can be concluded that field-based experiences are neither all beneficial in their effects as the abundant testimonials and increased emphasis on these experiences would lead us to believe, nor are they merely vehicles for adapting new personnel into existing patterns as many critics would have us believe. Instead, field-based experiences seem to entail a complicated set of both positive and negative consequences that are often subtle in nature. (p. 45)

When considering field experiences in relationship to working with culturally diverse students, the question of "quality" become even more problematic. This so as we consider the placement of a mostly White teaching cohort with cooperating teachers who may have received only a minimum amount of multicultural staff development, and who are more interested in the student teacher maintaining control and teaching the traditional basics; and university supervisors, whose multicultural knowledge is limited.

Concern over the field experience of working with culturally diverse students is further exacerbated because there is no commonly accepted definition of the purpose and goals of school experiences including student teaching. A great deal of variety exists in the way these experiences are conceptualized, organized, and actually implemented, even within the same institution. Guyton and McIntyre (1990) state:

> Although student teaching is the most widely accepted component of teacher preparation, it is criticized for lacking a theoretical and conceptual framework, for lacking commonly espoused goals, and for not fulfilling its potential. (p. 5)

Similarly, there are differences in expectations from field experiences among the major stakeholders: student teachers, cooperating teachers, and university supervisors. Tittle (1974) discovered that cooperating teachers and student teachers believe that developing self-confidence is the most important objective in this experience, whereas the university supervisors believed applying theory in practice is the most important objective. Also, the research on early field experience reports differences in expectations between cooperating teachers and student teachers (Campbell & Williamson, 1983; Griffin, 1983).

In brief, although students will quickly and decisively tell you that student teaching and other school experiences are the most meaningful and important feature of their preservice experiences, educational research does not completely support this belief. Therefore, it is important when identifying critical experiences for teaching culturally diverse students to take into account the theoretical and conceptual confusion and shortcomings that exist, to recognize the differences in student teaching expectations that exist among the stakeholders, and to design research that will discover why this confusion exists.

Teacher Voice in Knowledge, Skills, and Experience Construction

Throughout the review of most of the literature on "knowledge, skills, and experience," teachers' voices are silent or muted. Whereas the present educational reform efforts call for increased school district (teachers and administrators) presence in the preparation of teachers, the quantity and quality of teacher participation is still weak. Nevertheless, within educational literature and daily classroom teaching, there are two areas where teachers' presence has become more active—the use of action research and narratives.

The popularity of action research has increased with reform efforts in the area of staff development to produce greater academic achievement. In action research, teachers are able to offer their own hypothesis about ways to examine meeting instructional needs, manage concerns, and resolve curricular problems. They are then able to test these hypotheses, and review and discuss their findings with their peers and/or other colleagues who can guide them in their reflective thinking. Because of action research and other research methods, Stratemeyer and Lindsey (1958) believe that members of the teaching profession can become responsible for developing new theory and knowledge relating to their work (p. 482). Action research has particular relevance for working with culturally diverse students because it affords teachers a structured way to investigate their teaching procedures and materials and to discover their impact on their students.

Similarly, the development and use of "narrative" as a method and procedure for helping teachers to make sense out of classroom problems and issues has also increased their contribution to knowledge, skills, and experience development. Narrative can be especially useful for learning to work with culturally diverse students. Jalongo and Isenberg (1995) believe that teachers' stories are appropriate ways of getting started with any form of reflective thinking practices. They believe they also can serve as an avenue for attaining the highest levels of professional insight (p. 218). Clandinin and Connelly (1995) argue that the purpose of teachers' narratives is to discover how:

> [T]he embodied, narrative relational knowledge teachers carry autobiographically and by virtue of their formal education shapes, and is shaped by their professional knowledge context. (p. 3)

Proponents of educational excellence for culturally diverse students, I know, would argue that teachers need to play a major role in knowledge, skill, and experiences construction. Also, they would argue that action research and narratives can be important to helping teachers understand their teaching of culturally diverse students. Additionally, they would claim that the key to teachers' action research and narratives contributing to the construction of knowledge, skills, and experience for teaching culturally diverse students depends of the teachers' preparation. By this I mean that learning to teach, write, and do research from a multicultural perspective usually requires some form of instructional help and/or formal study. McMahon (1997) and Wachtel (1995) argue that becoming a reflective thinker about issues of diversity requires collaborating with a knowledgeable significant other (e.g., cooperating teachers, university supervisors).

Thus, the overall concern over teacher involvement in the construction of knowledge, skills, and experiences for teaching culturally diverse students is over the "nature" of the teacher role more so than teachers having a role. By "nature of the teacher's role," I mean, will teachers be merely the conduit of knowledge, passing on the *official* knowledge given to them? Or will teachers only selectively and minimally add to the official knowledge they have been instructed to teach? For example, they may include the work of a female author among a list of male authors. Or, will teachers seek to change the concept of what counts as official knowledge and include multiple perspectives, different paradigms of analysis, and infuse discussions of race, class, and gender into their teaching? The choice teachers make will for a large part depend upon the knowledge, skills, and experiences they have acquired during their teacher preparation.

Will teachers be merely the conduit of knowledge, passing on the *official* knowledge given to them?

Critical Experiences

- Field experiences need to be guided by theoretical and pedagogical purpose; that is, understood and supported.
- Field experiences need to take place with a cooperating teacher and supervisor who have a thorough understanding of multicultural education and accept it as a classroom necessity.
- Field experiences need to be analyzed in an ongoing manner and in a formal setting (e.g., seminar).
- Students need to have broad-based experiences in schools and communities populated by students of color.
- Prospective teachers of color need to have broad-based experience in schools and communities of students of color different from their own.
- Experience in conducting action research.

Finally, a review of scholarship on multicultural education will show that its proponents usually avoid providing "do lists" or anything that can be confused with a "magic bullet." "Lists" and "magic bullets" undermine the ideology that supports multicultural education. This problem haunted me as I developed this chapter because, as I wrote, I realized that change was occurring and that my "critical knowledge, skills, and experiences" list, although supported by a review of the multicultural literature and interactions with teachers and prospective teachers of culturally diverse students, was still socially constructed at a time when educational changes are underway. On the other hand, I moved forward, because I realized the knowledge base in teacher education generally and multicultural education specifically is low and in need of scholarship that increases its foundation.

Also, I found Solitis' (1987) words to be meaningful: "There is a fundamental circularity here. The better a teacher is educated, the better an education that teacher potentially can provide."

Hopefully this essay will generate some response from educators whose area of research and scholarship is teacher knowledge, skills and experience. It is important that educators with varying point of view come together and discuss this very important issue.

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Knowledge, Skills, and Experiences for Teaching Culturally Diverse Learners: A Perspective for Practicing Teachers

Marilyn Cochran-Smith

Consider the following three stories. Each is true. Each is provocative in different ways, and each is relevant to the topic here. The first occurred about 9 years ago.

> I had moved with my three children, who are Korean, from a predominately White suburb to a much more urban and diverse area. My oldest son, then 14, had managed to fail ninth grade math and was required to attend summer school. On the first day when he entered the classroom, a White boy looked at him incredulously and demanded, "What are you here for?"
>
> "What do you mean?" my son responded, "Same thing you are."
>
> "No man," the other boy insisted, "That's impossible. I mean why are you in this class?"
>
> "I failed math," my son replied with mounting annoyance and some embarrassment.
>
> "That's impossible!" the boy repeated. "This is math. You're . . . you're Chinese or something!" He stopped then and sat down but continued to eye my son suspiciously, shaking his head in disbelief.

The second incident occurred in the community of teachers I know best—a group of 13 highly experienced teachers who now work in a variety of Philadelphia area schools with student teachers and their school-based mentors.

> We had been discussing Vivian Paley's new book, *Kwanzaa and Me* along with excerpts and reviews of her previous book, *White Teacher*. We were exploring the issues of race and teaching that Paley raises as well as planning how we would later structure discussions of the same book with school-site groups of student teachers and their cooperating teachers who work regularly together as groups of teacher researchers. A central thread of the book is Paley's personal and sometimes pained reconsideration—after a lifetime of ideological and practical commitment—of the value of integrated schooling, especially for young

> children of color. Our discussion was spirited and intense. Some people questioned whether very young children are really aware of racial configurations and their impacts on their early school experiences, even if, in retrospect they claim they would have been better off in some other situation. One White colleague commented that she had been very poor as a young child but hadn't realized it at all, once even being genuinely delighted to receive a bunch of bananas as her only Christmas present. It wasn't until much later, perhaps as a teenager, she commented, that she began to realize how much more her schoolmates had at Christmas time and all the time. An African American member of our group commented immediately following, agreeing that she too had been very poor as a child and that she too had been unaware of it for a long time. There were nods around the table—perhaps these two stories offered an important alternative perspective from which to consider Paley's comments. But the African American teacher continued, "No," she said, "I never knew I was poor. But I always knew I was Black."

The third incident occurred when a former student teacher came back to visit me. She was no longer a beginner, but a teacher of 8 years. Her experience included two New Jersey cities, each economically depressed and each threatened with state take-overs because of poor student achievement scores.

> We talked about her teaching experiences over the years and her current situation. Her current school has a mixture of White European American, African American, and Latino students. She and her principal, both of whom are White women, do not see eye-to-eye on many issues of curriculum and teaching. From my former student's perspective, her principal is not very courageous, always avoiding direct confrontations with the teachers in the building by sending someone else as messenger for her directives to start doing or stop doing something. My student recounted several examples of this practice and then reported that in September the principal had sent one teacher to another's classroom with a string of instructions and admonishments and then added, "And tell him to take those pictures of Black people down off his walls—it's not even February yet."

I share these stories not because they offer clear directions for action but because they are connected to some of the most complex but important questions about the contexts in which experienced urban teachers interpret and shape their work. What assumptions do teachers and students of all ages bring to school with them about "the self" and "the other"? What understandings do they have about meanings, cultures, and families that are not like their own? Under what conditions is it possible to examine, build on, and change deeply embedded attitudes, beliefs, and practices? What does it mean to teach in ways that are culturally responsive, linguistically appropriate, and academically rigorous? Is it possible and/or desirable to strike a balance between pedagogy and curriculum that are supportive of the racial, cultural, and language identities students bring to school with them and that, at the same time, prepare students to negotiate but also critique the current power structures of schooling and society? What contexts for professional development constrain or support teachers' efforts to enhance learning of this kind? What roles do collaboration, inquiry, and self-examination play? Do we have the knowledge and the collective will to alter fundamentally the ways we teach students who differ from the mainstream in language, culture, race, and ethnicity?

THE NEED FOR A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

My task as a contributor to this collection is to provide a synthesis—for the professional development of experienced teachers—of the critical skills, knowledge, and experiences necessary for the instruction of culturally diverse students. This is not a small task or a simple one. Although the problem is both theoretical and practical, it is decidedly not a problem of method. What we need in the teaching profession are not better generic strategies for "doing multicultural education" or "teaching for diversity" nor more lesson plans about basket making, piñatas, and other customs in non-Anglo cultures (Cochran-Smith, 1995a). There are no particular lessons or units teachers can include in their classrooms that will make them "culturally responsive" or "inclusive" teachers. By the same token, in the context of professional development, there is no particular activity a staff developer can use to turn "culturally unresponsive" or "monocultural" teachers into responsive and multicultural ones.

This chapter is based on 20 years of work with new and experienced urban teachers, my own research on urban teaching/teacher education, and a careful reading of the recent related literature. What I wish to argue here is that successfully teaching diverse learners in urban schools is not primarily a matter of method, especially if we understand method in the narrow sense it is often used in the teacher education and professional development fields as something that can be divorced from content, theory, and perspective. Rather, teaching diverse learners is a matter of the knowledge, interpretive frameworks, and political commitments that guide and are guided by teachers' practices, social relationships, and questions about the immediacy of classroom life and larger issues of curriculum, instruction, and the purposes of schooling (Cochran-Smith, 1995b). With this premise—that successful urban teaching is not dependent on method but is dependent on a confluence of interpretations, ideology, and practices—it follows that successful professional development for urban teachers is equally complex and nonlinear. In other words, as I will argue here, what we need in professional development are generative ways for experienced teachers and teacher educators to work together—to explore and reconsider their own assumptions and alliances, understand the values and practices of families and cultures that are different from their own, examine their ideological commitments about the purposes and goals of education, and construct pedagogy and curriculum that take all of these issues into account in ways that are locally appropriate, culturally sensitive, and globally aware (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993).

Successful urban teaching is not dependent on method but is dependent on a confluence of interpretations, ideology, and practices.

As I see it, then, the task in this synthesis is not merely to provide a list—culled from experience and the research literature—of the knowledge, skills, and experiences practicing urban teachers need to have. Rather, it is to try to construct, however tentatively, a coherent framework for considering how teachers' knowledge, politics, skills, and experiences fit together within the demanding and varying contexts of urban teaching. In the first section of this chapter, I draw on the extensive literature of multicultural education, urban and minority education, culturally responsive curriculum and pedagogy, and related sociological, linguistic, and anthropological literature on schools, classrooms, and community cultures. Utilizing heavily the thoughtful syntheses that already exist in these areas,[1] I suggest a framework for urban pedagogy based on teachers' knowledge and interpretive frameworks (epistemology), political beliefs and commitments (ideology), and strategies, skills, and social relationships (practice).[2] In the second section of the chapter, I draw on research in teacher education, particularly the burgeoning literature on staff development and professional development, as well as some of the literature on the school as workplace, the cultures of teaching, and multiple layers of school and educational reform.

A unique feature of this chapter is that I have tried throughout to draw not only on the standard academic literature but also on a body of much less-known writing and research by teachers and groups of teachers who have been committed over the long haul to confronting the complex and increasingly difficult issues involved in improving urban education. I use this literature to explore what teachers know about teaching culturally diverse populations of students as well as what they know about the contexts in which professional development occurs and the conditions that support and constrain their efforts to contribute—within larger social movements—to improving the life chances of the children and adolescents they teach.

Because it is impossible within the scope of this paper to draw on ail the writing by and/or about teachers and teachers' groups in urban areas, I have concentrated on four different contexts within which teachers do this work—a school, a city, a state-level project, and a national network. The school is Central Park East (now actually four schools) in the East Harlem section of New York City. Central Park East has received unprecedented attention in the popular and educational media as a success story for poor African American and Hispanic students in the midst of urban decay (Meier, 1995; Snyder, Lieberman, MacDonald, & Goodwin, 1992). The city is Philadelphia, an urban location where there has been a particularly rich and long tradition of both teacher-initiated groups and school-university partnerships intended to improve the contexts in which teachers work together to change urban teaching (see for example, Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Fine, 1994; Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative, 1984). The state-level project is the California Tomorrow Immigrant Students Project, which focuses on the needs and experiences of foreign-born children in California schools (Olsen & Mullen, 1990). The national network of teachers is The Urban Sites Network, a special project linked to the National Writing Project created to bolster its urban agenda and produce knowledge about urban teaching by urban teachers themselves (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling, & Tateishi, 1994; Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce, 1994; Petersen, in press). Each section of this paper is informed by these four efforts, although the work of teachers—their voices, perspectives, and knowledge—is especially relevant to the sections on practice and professional development. One extended example from each of the four contexts appears in these sections.

INTERPRETATION, IDEOLOGY, AND PRACTICE

A coherent framework for understanding and ultimately improving the teaching of increasingly culturally diverse student populations requires attention to issues of epistemology, ideology,[3] practice, and professional development.

Knowledge and Interpretive Frameworks

There is widespread agreement that teachers' beliefs, attitudes, values, knowledge frames, and images are not only profoundly connected to the ways teachers teach (Clark and Peterson, 1986) but also deeply entrenched, at times seemingly intractably so, despite long-term and well-supported school and instructional reform efforts (Cuban, 1970; Hargreaves, 1994; Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Little & McLaughlin, 1993; Sleeter, 1992). Drawing on the work of university-based and school-based researchers, I suggest that there are a number of beliefs, images, and understandings or what may be thought of as "knowledge and interpretive frameworks" that are central to teaching culturally diverse students. Discussed in some detail in the following section, these include: (1) beliefs, images, and knowledge/understandings of self and particularly of the self-as-teacher; (2) belief, images, and understandings of knowledge itself—both knowledge generally and subject matter knowledge specifically; and (3) beliefs, images, and knowledge/understandings of culture, cultures, and cultural differences.

IMAGE OF TEACHER/IMAGE OF SELF

The interpretive framework that I refer to here as "image of teacher/image of self" depends on a number of beliefs, images, and understandings that are discussed in the following section: the nature and degree of examination of one's autobiography as a human being in the world and an educator in society; the nature and extent (or lack thereof) of one's alliances with and connections to individuals, groups, and communities of those who are same-as-self and different-from-self; one's sense of one's own efficacy as a teacher in classroom and school and one's ability to function as an agent for change in society; one's sense of students' efficacy and agency in their own lives in and out of school; and, the extent of inquiry and questioning (or not) contained in one's stance on teaching, learning, and schooling.

Autobiography and Alliance. For some time teacher educators have recognized that teachers need to understand their own life histories as human beings and as educators in order to be effective teachers of others (Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1991; Clark & Zellermayer, 1995; Grant, 1991; Grumet, 1991; Hollins, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1990; Witherell & Noddings, 1991). This means that it is important for teachers to know their own autobiographies, especially how their lives as schoolchildren and citizens have been indelibly structured by race, class, culture, ethnicity, language, and gender vis-a-vis those of the prevailing groups and the structures of power in both school and society (Cochran-Smith, 1995a; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1992; Florio-Ruane, 1994; King & Ladson-Billings, 1990; Rosenberg, 1994; Zeichner, 1993). This also means that teachers need to make explicit and often work to alter their assumptions about the motivations and behaviors of "other people's children" and about the pedagogies and programs deemed most appropriate for learners who are "like them" or "not like them" (Delpit, 1988, 1995; Kozol, 1991).

The literature on culturally responsive teaching increasingly points to the fact that teachers who successfully teach diverse groups of students have strong and consciously examined self identities as members of cultural, ethnic, religious, or class groups (Foster, 1993; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Zeichner, 1993). Historically many teachers who have successfully taught children of color in less than felicitous circumstances have shared their students' ethnic and racial identities (Delpit, 1995; Hollins, 1982; Villegas, 1991). A few of these—notably Marva Collins and Jaime Escalante—are widely known to us through popular movies and television exposés. Others have been described in qualitative studies or biographical accounts of teachers and teaching (Foster, 1989, 1991; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994). There is also evidence, however, that teachers who do not share their children's racial, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds can be successful (Au & Jordan, 1981; Ballenger, 1992; Brown, 1993; Dillon, 1989; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Meier, 1995). Conversely, there is evidence that sharing cultural, racial, ethnic, or linguistic characteristics with one's students does not necessarily lead to successful teaching and learning nor to shared references and goals among students and teachers (Nieto, 1992; Waff, 1994).

It is not the teacher's racial or cultural identity per se that matters most in successfully teaching diverse groups of students.

One way to make sense of this array of evidence is to suggest that it may well be that it is not the teacher's racial or cultural identity per se that matters most in successfully teaching diverse groups of students. Rather, what may be most important is the teacher's image of self as either connected to, or disengaged from, her students as individuals and as members of groups and larger communities. Foster (1993), for example, argues that a watershed of effective teachers of Black children is their affiliation with the community, what she refers to as "kinship, connectedness, and solidarity" (p. 376). Similarly, Ladson-Billings (1995) draws on Patricia Hill Collins' work (1991) on Black feminist thought for terms that are deeply resonant with much of the work on successful teaching of minority students—"the ethic of caring" and "the ethic of accountability." In Ladson-Billings' study of eight successful teachers of African American children, five of the teachers were African American and three were White. However, she points out that seven of the eight had what she refers to as African American or bicultural "cultures of reference," while the eighth was unusually sensitive and responsive to her children's interests and lives outside of school. Ladson-Billings summarizes the ethic of caring that was common to all of the successful teachers she analyzed:

> Their common thread of caring was their concern for the implications their work had on their students' lives, the welfare of the community, and unjust social arrangements. Thus, rather than the idiosyncratic caring for individual students (for whom they did seem to care), the teachers spoke of the import of their work for preparing the students for confronting inequitable and undemocratic social structures. (p. 474)

What all of this work points to, I think, is that the teacher's sense of self and her sense of "the other" or of "those who are different and apart from me" are equally important in trying to describe the successful teaching of students in large urban areas.

Along these same lines, Heath (1995) suggests that multicultural education will be unsuccessful as long it continues to frame "difference" in terms of a standard based on White mainstream culture. In asserting that curriculum is itself a "racial text," Castenell and Pinar (1993) make a related point. They argue that curriculum and pedagogy represent "who we perceive ourselves to be [as well as how we] represent that identity, including what remains as 'left over' and 'difference'" (p. 2). What this indicates, I think, is that for the successful teaching of diverse learners, it is less important what the teacher's actual racial, cultural, or ethnic identity is and more important how she constructs knowledge of "self," "other," and "otherness." Given the now widely documented racial and cultural disparity between the nation's schoolchildren and its teachers (AACTE, 1987; Banks, 1991; Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990), Beverly Tatum's model of "the White ally" (1994) is particularly instructive. Located within the history of White protest against racism, the conception of White ally is necessary for both White teachers and teachers of color, Tatum asserts. The literature on culturally responsive teaching suggests that despite their own racial identities or cultures of reference, successful teachers of students of color function as allies by displaying connectedness with community, resisting racist socialization, and working directly for social change.

Efficacy and Agency. Despite a wide variety of paradigmatic and political perspectives, it seems clear in the literature that the successful teacher of culturally diverse learners functions as decision maker in the classroom and believes in and acts on her own efficacy (Brophy & Good, 1986; Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993). Emphasis on the teacher's efficacy is also in keeping with studies of successful staff development and teacher change (Little and McLaughlin, 1993; McLaughlin, 1991). Underlying much of the work in both these areas is an image of the teacher as intellectual rather than technician, knowledge generator rather than simply implementor, and inventor rather than receiver of appropriate curriculum, pedagogy, and strategy. Indeed, as Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1992) point out, it would be a "contradiction to the concept of diversity itself if researchers or teacher educators were to posit monolithic solutions to what are widely acknowledged as complex and often unique problems," and, as Villegas (1991) similarly concludes in a synthesis of culturally responsive pedagogy, "the diversity of experience that characterizes cross-cultural classroom settings precludes the use of fixed scripts by teachers" (p. 23).

A sense of efficacy about teaching is interdependent with the teacher's image of knowledge, on the one hand, and her belief in the efficacy of her students on the other. (Knowledge is discussed in a later section of this chapter.) The empirical evidence is clear that successful teachers of diverse learners have a strong belief that all their students are capable of learning at high intellectual levels—gathering information, understanding complex material, posing and solving problems, critiquing and questioning conflicting information, constructing alternative perspectives, and synthesizing, comparing, and analyzing evidence (Foster, 1994; Hilliard, 1989; Irvine, 1990; King, 1994; Knapp, 1995; Meier, 1995; Moll, 1988; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993). Deborah Meier's (1995) description of the success of the Central Park East elementary and secondary schools eloquently attests to this bedrock belief in students.

> All kids are indeed capable of generating powerful ideas; they can rise to the occasion. It turns out that ideas are not luxuries gained at the expense of the 3 R's, but instead enhance them. (p. 4)

In one sense, it may seem common sense that students cannot learn at high levels of excellence if their teachers do not support them and expect them to do so. However, as Zeichner (1993) points out, teachers frequently seem to believe and demonstrate just the opposite to their students—"dumbing down" the curriculum (Haberman, 1991; Irvine, 1990; Knapp, 1995), settling for poor quality work or no work at all—and, based on unexamined but widespread notions of cultural deficit or deprivation, acting as if some students are simply not capable of learning very much regardless of teacher effort, pedagogical strategy, school context, or community connection.

Irvine argues for recognition of the important link between the potential of teachers to make a difference in their students' lives and the social and organizational structures of schools as systems. She concludes:

> Teachers are significant others in their students' lives; as significant others, they affect the achievement and self-concept of their students, particularly Black students. Because schools are loosely coupled systems and teachers frequently operate autonomously and independently, teachers' impact on the lives of students is perhaps greater than one might imagine. (p. 49)

The link between the cultures of schools and the individual teacher's sense of efficacy is complex, depending both on the teachers' autonomy derived from loose coupling and on the degree of community and collaboration in a particular school. (This issue is discussed in more detail in a later section on professional development.)

Inquiry as Stance. Teachers who research and write their own urban teaching experiences from insiders' perspectives are clearly committed to making a difference in their students' lives. However, they fully acknowledge their ongoing uncertainties, confusion, misgivings, and concerns. As Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) have pointed out, this sort of inquiry stance often flies in the face of what administrators and/or "the public" expect of experienced urban teachers.

> Researching teachers . . . are noted for their questions. They may indeed be self-sufficient, competent, and, sometimes, certain. But they also pose problems, identify discrepancies between their theories and their practices, challenge common routines, and attempt to make visible much of that which is taken for granted about teaching and learning. They often

> count on other teachers for alternative perspectives on their work. . . . They seek help not because they are failing, but because they are learning. . . . And they regard struggle and self-critical questioning as integral parts of their intellectual lives. . . . Going public with questions, seeking help from colleagues, and opening up one's classroom to others go against the norms of appropriate teaching behavior. (p. 87)

An inquiry stance also often goes against the norms of what teachers expect of themselves and of their students. Karen Duggan, a middle school social studies teacher in Glendale, California, comments as follows:

> Most of us begin to teach as we were taught. And because nothing in our teacher training taught us otherwise, we model traditional teaching. It worked fine for me in a Catholic girls' school, but when I began teaching in an urban public middle school it simply didn't work. My first week I knew it wasn't working. My old discipline techniques didn't work. Trying to pour information into their heads, standing in front of the room talking at them just didn't work. I had to start all over. What should I do? . . . I didn't know what to do. I began to realize it might have something to do with me and my teaching. I began asking questions of myself, of them. I began trying things and seeking new approaches. That's when I became a *real* teacher. (Olsen & Mullen, 1990, p. 61)

Reflected in much of the literature about urban teaching that is written by teachers themselves is an inquiry stance on teaching—raising questions and seeking new interpretive frames but also harboring profound (and exhausting) uncertainties about how to connect with students' prior experiences; how to balance meaningful and significant content with skills, how to honor cultural and linguistic resources but also expand students' knowledge and repertoire of skills; how to avoid functioning as a wedge between students and their families; and how to do what Shirley Brown (1993) describes as "lighting fires" in students in terms of motivation, interest, and their own efficacy.

KNOWLEDGE AND SUBJECT MATTER

To teach increasingly diverse populations of students, teachers continuously invent and reinvent both pedagogy and curriculum, co-constructing knowledge with students based on the cultural and linguistic resources students bring to school with them and on students' varying transactions with complex subject matter (Erickson, 1986; Lieberman & Miller, 1991; Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992). (This is discussed in further detail in a later section.) Teachers who invent pedagogy and curriculum in this way work from a view of knowledge as neither static nor infallible (Ladson-Billings, 1994), but instead socially constituted in particular historical and cultural contexts and hence open to critique, challenge, and alteration (Giroux, 1984, 1985; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992; Padilla & Lindholm, 1995). From this view of knowledge and knowers, both students and teachers are "on task" at all times (Erickson, 1981), making meaning and building perspectives rather than transmitting or receiving ideas and information full-blown.

Teacher-as-knower is implicit in Ladson-Billings' (1994) finding that culturally relevant teachers are "passionate" about subject matter and in Meier's (1995) descriptions of thematic units at Central Park East based on teachers' own passionate intellectual interests. As an explicit topic, however, the teacher's knowledge of subject matter is given little attention in the literature on teaching diverse student populations. Likewise, the teaching of culturally diverse learners is given little attention in the growing literature on teaching subject matter. A heavy emphasis on subject matter and pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987) began in the mid-1980s as part of the movement to improve teaching by constructing the professional "knowledge base." A number of the knowledge base books (Dill, 1990; Reynolds, 1989), for example, have chapters about the importance of the knowledge base itself, about human development and/or learner characteristics, and about subject-specific pedagogy in mathematics, English, science, and history. However, with some exceptions, these volumes give little attention to the specific issues involved in teaching increasingly diverse populations in urban settings. Even the recent lengthy and comprehensive *Handbook of Research in Multicultural Education* (Banks & Banks, 1995) devotes no chapters and includes no index references to "subject matter," "pedagogical content knowledge," or specific subject areas such as science, history, or English.

McDiarmid (1991) rightly points out that most analyses of what teachers need to know about cultural diversity have emphasized knowledge about students, including styles of interacting and learning, social and cultural norms, and social and political structures. He claims that we need to "restore subject matter" to the picture (p. 257). The title of the volume of which McDiarmid's essay is a part, *Teaching Academic Subjects to Diverse Learners* (Kennedy, 1991), seems intended to help fill the gap between attention to teaching diverse learners and attention to teaching subject matter, but, I believe, may actually help to buttress it. The first two thirds of the book focus on the "teaching academic subjects . . ." part of the book's title with chapters about science, math, history/social studies, writing, and so on, while only the last third of the book even attempts to address the ". . . to diverse learners" issue (punctuation as used in the section titles of the book). Here, except for useful discussions by Anderson (1991) on children's prior knowledge of school subjects and by Grant (1991) on culture and teaching, there is little effort to bring what we know in these two areas together or even to frame what the relevant questions should be.

Knapp's (1995) recent volume, *Teaching for Meaning in High Poverty Classrooms*, analyzes from a policy perspective, teachers' attempts to teach "for meaning" in non-mainstream classrooms over a 2-year period. Knapp points out that teachers who were most successful teaching for meaning were those with a deep knowledge of subject matter as well as a conception of students as active participants in learning whose prior knowledge must be connected to school subject matter. Knapp concludes the book by questioning whether "teaching for meaning" should be "mandated" at the state level, a framing of the issue in terms that seem oddly incompatible. Perhaps what these omissions and inconsistencies suggest is that we need to know more from teachers' perspectives about how they struggle to draw on learners' knowledge in the process of active engagement with complex subject matter. How do teachers construct interpretations of diverse learners' understandings in ways that support their continued learning? How do teachers link their own deep knowledge of subject matter with what they know about language and cultural differences? How do teachers demonstrate not only love of learning and intellectual integrity but also genuine curiosity about and respect for the validity of their students' meaning-making efforts? These questions suggest a skeletal outline for a research agenda in this area.

IMAGE OF CULTURE/IMAGE OF DIFFERENCE

The interpretive framework that I refer to here as "image of culture/ image of difference" involves teachers' conceptions of culture, their knowledge of cultures different from their own, and their images of schools and classrooms as social and cultural contexts. These have enormous influences on the ways teachers construct and act upon "difference" in schooling—differences between and among teachers, their students, and their families and communities (Cazden & Mehan, 1989; Erickson, 1986; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Heath, 1995; Hilliard, 1992; Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, & Wills, 1995; Villegas, 1991). Foremost is the concept that culture is not captured in lists of "the characteristics" of groups of "others" (Florio-Ruane, 1994; Zeichner, 1993)—a practice that may in and of itself bolster rather than interrupt stereotypes (Cazden &

Mehan, 1989; Popkewitz, 1991). Rather, it encompasses a broad array of the expected norms, values, attitudes, and modes of knowing, behaving, interacting, and interpreting daily life in social and cultural groups (Cazden & Mehan, 1989; Heath, 1983; King, 1994; Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, & Wills, 1995).

Classrooms as Cultures. Applied to schools and schooling, a broad concept of culture allows that classrooms are not neutral sites for the transmission of information but are instead culturally and socially constructed contexts with deeply interactive, embedded, and political layers of meaning (Cazden & Mehan, 1989; Delpit, 1986, 1988, 1995; Erickson, 1986; Evertson & Green, 1986; Hilliard, 1987; Hollins, King, & Hayman, 1994; King, 1994). As such, classrooms are orchestrated around particular ways of speaking and being silent (Delpit, 1988); asking for and/or displaying information and knowledge (Bloome & Greene, 1984; Heath, 1983); working with, for, and against others as both individuals and members of groups (Ladson-Billings, 1995); critiquing, contesting, and connecting information (Irvine, 1990; King, 1994); and interpreting all of these behaviors and events as evidence of the motivations as well as abilities/disabilities and achievements/failures of individuals and groups.

Home and School Culture. It is well documented that the discourse patterns and cultural norms and expectations of the school are most congruent with White mainstream patterns of socialization (Cazden & Mehan, 1989). This understanding is the basis of a widespread explanation for the gap in achievement between White middle-class students and primarily poor students of color, an explanation often referred to as cultural incompatibility or difference between home and school (King, 1994; Villegas, 1991). Cultural incompatibility theories explicitly eschew explanations for school failure based on deficit, deprivation, or deficiency. They are bolstered by empirical evidence, some of it now widely known, of improved learning in classrooms where discourse patterns, grouping strategies, and behavioral expectations have been adjusted in keeping with the cultures of students (Villegas, 1991) as well as by analyses of classrooms with high achievement for minority students where teachers' ways of interacting with students, organizing instruction, and linking new and known information are congruent with students' cultures and language patterns (Foster, 1994; Irvine, 1990). As Villegas (1991) has succinctly pointed out, the most salient feature of cultural difference theory is that it shifts the responsibility for school failure from families and students to teachers and schools.

> [From this perspective] the problem stems from the ways schools and classrooms are organized, which leads teachers to interpret the culturally specific behavior of minority students (e.g., confusion over the use of display questions, silence during teacher-led instruction, topic-associating narrative style) as a deficiency. The solution to cultural disparities between home and school is not necessarily having the school duplicate the cultural conditions of the home. Instead, what most advocates of the cultural difference theory propose is a model of mutual accommodation in which both teachers and students adapt their actions to the common goal of academic success with cultural respect. (pp. 11–12)

Pedagogies based on efforts to achieve cultural compatibility through mutual accommodation have been referred to as culturally responsive, culturally congruent, culturally relevant, and culturally compatible. As King (1994) has pointed out, however, these terms are not synonymous but instead imply varying critiques of the arrangements and purposes of schooling.

There has been considerable criticism of incompatibility theories (Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993). Critics have *not* suggested that culturally congruent pedagogy—often developed as a result of understandings about cultural differences—is not worthwhile or important. Rather, some critics have warned that there is a danger of overgeneralization and even stereotyping when advocating particular pedagogies for particular groups (Hilliard, 1989; Irvine & York, 1995). Much of the critique of incompatibility theories, however, revolves around the argument that they cannot adequately explain school failure and may in a certain sense let everyone off the hook too easily by not attending to the systemic and enduring inequities and the deeply embedded racism of American society. Hilliard (1989) blames school failure on the dramatic inequalities that exist between majority and minority students' learning opportunities and treatment in schools. Villegas (1991) asserts that the root of the problem is a "struggle for power in our economically stratified society" (p. 12). Taking a different tack, McCarthy (1993) criticizes the discourse about multicultural education itself (including approaches he would term emancipatory) because it ignores the complicated political relations embedded in the internal structure of schools and is too optimistic that better education will lead to better job opportunities for young people of color.

A major theme that links the literature on culture and cultural differences is that a critical aspect of successfully teaching diverse student populations is the intellectual framework from which teachers work as they construct, interpret, and act on "difference." Uppermost is that teachers not interpret cultural difference as deficit or deprivation and hence make wrong judgments about minority students' intellectual potential and language abilities (Hilliard, 1989). Further, teachers' attitudes and intentions are especially critical. In a synthesis of research on learning styles, Irvine and York (1995) conclude that what students of color need most are "committed, caring, dedicated teachers who are not afraid, resentful, or hostile, and who genuinely want to teach at schools with culturally diverse populations" (p. 494).

Ideologies and Political Frameworks/Ideological Commitments

In addition to the knowledge and interpretive frameworks just described, there are a number of ideological commitments or what might be thought of as "ideologies and political frameworks" implicit in the teaching of diverse student populations. There is some evidence across the writing of outsider- and insider-based researchers, for example, that some of the most successful teaching of urban populations grows out of and feeds into powerful ideologies or political visions about the purposes of schooling coupled with thoughtful understandings of the experiences and cultures of students. It is important to note the obvious here—that all educational ideologies, whether conservative or radical, are political in nature. As I discuss in more detail below, conservative ideologies, intended to promote students' success within the existing arrangements of the prevailing educational and economic systems, tend to aim for assimilation (Comer, 1988; Edwards, 1992). More radical ideologies, on the other hand, are intended to promote not only students' academic success but also their abilities to develop cultural critique and eventually to alter fundamentally basic systems of power and resource distribution (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Meier, 1995).

In the following section, I describe several concepts embedded in the "ideologies and political frameworks" that influence the teachers and teaching of diverse populations in urban contexts: understandings of teaching and schooling as political activities; understandings and perspectives on the historical, economic, and political relationships of school and society; and understandings and perspectives on the purposes of schooling for majority and minority school children.

TEACHING AS A POLITICAL ACTIVITY

It is widely agreed that teachers cannot fix the problems of society and that teachers alone, whether through group or individual efforts, cannot alter the life chances of the children they teach (Anyon, 1994; Cuban, 1987). Weiner (1989) makes this point with clarity when she argues that the "Herculean task" of teaching in urban schools is the result of complex school bureaucracies, the isolation of schools from the families and communities they are supposed to serve, and the large numbers of students in urban classrooms whose families have neither the resources nor the will to affirm and support school values. Weiner points out that professional development projects can only help teachers deal with the third factor—the situations they find in their classrooms.

> Teacher education programs can prepare teachers to confront . . . conditions in their classrooms, by educating candidates to teach disadvantaged students with respect, creativity, and skill, but they cannot prepare individual teachers to substitute for the political and social *movements* that are needed to alter the systemic deficiencies of urban education. (p. 153)

McCarthy (1993) makes a similar point in his criticism of multicultural education. He claims that by ignoring "the crucial issues of structural inequality and differential power relations" (p. 243), advocates of multicultural education place enormous and unrealistic responsibility on the shoulders of classroom teachers.

There is not complete consensus in the general teacher education literature about the advisability or even the possibility of merging the roles of educator and activist. Weiner (1989), for example, argues that fusing these roles destroys the ability of each to inform and monitor the other. Notwithstanding some disagreement, however, the literature makes a persuasive case that, as bell hooks (1994) says, "no education is politically neutral" (p. 35). Part of the knowledge, skill, and experience of those who teach diverse populations, then, is political consciousness and ideological commitment to diminishing the inequities of American life, not as a substitute for social movements but as part of them (Cochran-Smith, 1995a, 1995b; Foster, 1993; Grant, Sleeter, & Anderson, 1986; hooks, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Zeichner, 1993).

Following many others who have asserted that teachers should work for social justice and for the transformation of society's fundamental inequities (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Ginsburg, 1988; Greene, 1986; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Zeichner, 1986), Cochran-Smith (1991) explicitly argues for this position, asserting that teaching is a political activity and that it is impossible for teachers to teach in ways that are neutral or value free.

> I use Gramsci's clarion call for social accountability to reassert that teachers are decision makers and collaborators who must reclaim their roles in the shaping of practice by taking a stand as both educators and activists. I do not wish to suggest that teachers alone have the power or the responsibility to reform education by "teaching better," or that teaching can be understood in isolation from the cultures of schools and communities or the historical and political contexts of school and society. But I do wish to insist that teaching is fundamentally a political activity in which every teacher plays a part by design or by default. (p. 280)

Teachers of culturally diverse student populations (and all teachers) are engaged in an enterprise that is political. How they see that enterprise—particularly how they conceive of the purposes of schooling for mainstream students and for students of color—and how they see their roles in that enterprise account for some of sharpest points of controversy in what teachers need to know and to be able to do to teach successfully.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

There is evidence in the literature that effective teachers of culturally diverse student populations have critical perspectives on the social, historical, and political contexts of schooling and that they locate their work within these larger contexts (Giroux, 1985; Irvine, 1990; Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995; Zeichner, 1993). Most salient among teachers' understandings of school and society are these: that school is not neutral ground but site for contestation and place where power struggles are played out (Delpit, 1988, 1995; McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Villegas, 1991); that there is a dynamic interplay among power, privilege, and economic oppression in the school and home lives of majority and minority Americans (Delpit, 1988; hooks, 1995; McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; McIntosh, 1989; Zeichner, 1993); that there is a long and complex history of racism in America although the ways "race" and the history of race have been constructed are from a largely mainstream perspective (Asante, 1991; Hilliard, 1989; Kailin, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Zeichner, 1993); and especially, that there are enormous structural inequities embedded in the social, organizational, and financial arrangements of schools and schooling that perpetuate dominance for dominant groups and oppression for oppressed groups (Asante, 1991; Darling-Hammond, 1995; Giroux & McLaren, 1992; Kozol, 1991; McDermott, 1974; Villegas, 1991).

Gay (1995) suggests that many of the concerns and goals of multicultural education are analogous with those of critical pedagogy, especially with respect to issues of educational access, equity, and excellence in a culturally pluralistic society. Along with Sleeter & McLaren (1995), she calls for linking these two liberatory movements. This may well be a useful strategy—the major idea that animates the understandings listed above is that successful teachers of culturally diverse student populations have political lenses or frameworks through which they see injustices in school and society and then struggle with others in larger arenas to try to do something about them.

THE PURPOSES OF SCHOOLING

Joyce King (1994) argues that the knowledge base for successfully teaching diverse student populations needs to include "liberating educational purposes that are in the interest of African American survival and in the interest of a more democratic, just, and culturally diverse society" (p. 26). King identifies four different research perspectives on cultural knowledge and educational purpose in the emergent knowledge base for teaching: culture centered, culture congruent, culture difference, and culture deficit. Her trenchant analysis of these research perspectives also allows important distinctions among the ways educators link cultural understandings with educational ideologies; that is, among the ways they connect knowledge, politics, and practice.

From culture-centered perspectives, transformative educational goals are connected to pedagogy and curriculum that honor the integrity and value of indigenous culture; because African Americans have continuously transformed dehumanizing mainstream practices, culture-centered perspectives foreground social critique as an academic skill. Culture congruent perspectives are similar in some ways. They focus on altering educational processes so that they are more continuous with students' cultural and linguistic patterns. Presumably this dramatically improves the learning opportunities of students who are not part of the mainstream culture but does not necessarily foreground social and political critique. From the perspective of cultural difference, King suggests that discontinuities between home and school cultures may be acknowledged, and curriculum and pedagogy may be altered to represent more cultural diversity and build on the strengths of students' own cultures. Nonetheless, the fundamental educational purpose is to socialize nonmainstream students into the norms and values of the mainstream. Finally, from cultural deficit perspectives, students' culture is regarded in terms of deficiency, deprivation, or maladaptation. Educational purpose is regarded as resocializing students into mainstream culture by replacing their norms, values, and cultural perspectives with those more in keeping with the school.

King argues convincingly that the major differences between these four perspectives are the ways they value and connect cultural knowledge with educational purpose. On the one hand, culture-centered and culture-congruent perspectives acknowledge the needs and strengths of African American students and the "transformative potential" of cultural knowledge. Cultural-difference and -deficit perspectives, on the other hand, fail to make these acknowledgments. King argues that discussions of the knowledge base for urban teaching also fail in these ways.

> In order for Black students to "thrive" in school on their own (culture centered) terms more is needed than self-esteem building and identifying with schooling and mainstream society, such as it is (Asante 1990, 1991). Students (and teachers) also need to understand the particular historical significance of the transformative presence of African American people in America. This is not a call for a "culture-specific learning orientation" or an ethnocentric curriculum. . . . [I]ncorporating a critically transformative, indigenous conception of African American cultural knowledge that is a necessary element of a rehumanizing, re-Africanizing education process . . . is needed if education is to help students "re-tool" in order to challenge and change the mainstream (not just its images or our images of it). (p. 30)

Although there is no question about King's stance on these four perspectives, she also points out that educational approaches consistent with each have been shown to affect students' learning and achievement in positive directions.

King provides a conceptual framework for sorting out the inconsistencies in the literature about the knowledge, skills, and experiences teachers need to have to successfully teach culturally diverse learners. Whether from the African American scholarly community or the larger scholarly community, some educators will disagree with King's politics and with her classifications. Particularly there may be disagreement with King's suggestion that James Comer's well-known programs hinge on a deficit model or that Lisa Delpit's attention to teaching children the codes of the culture of power emphasizes too heavily socialization into mainstream culture. What is most valuable about King's work, however, is that it makes it clear that any discussion of the knowledge base for teaching diverse students is in large measure a discussion of politics and ideology, particularly about the purposes of education. These are matters of personal values, commitments to social justice, and understandings of equity, access, and excellence.

The literature represents a continuum of opinions about the politics of teaching culturally diverse learners, ranging from a goal of assimilation of culturally diverse learners into the mainstream on one end to transformation of the mainstream itself on the other. At or near this end of the continuum is King (1994) as well as Ladson-Billings (1994), who frames her entire discussion of culturally relevant pedagogy by contrasting it with a more common pedagogy she terms "assimilationist" because it promotes accommodation of minority children into White culture (1995). Ladson-Billings forcefully asserts that education is a negative force when it leads to academic skills but also alienates students from their own cultures, invalidates their identities as African Americans, and tells them that success means leaving their own communities. She calls instead for education that empowers students by enabling them to critique the current arrangements of school and society and develop the skill and will to make their communities what they want them to be. bell hooks (1994) makes a similar point when she calls for teaching that is emancipatory or "transgressive."

> The classroom with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom. (p. 207)

Many others, who might be referred to in Sleeter and Grant's (1987) or Liston and Zeichner's (1991) terms as "social reconstructionist educators" (Zeichner, 1993) call for transformative pedagogies that are aimed at altering the structural inequities and injustices of society and committed to education for a more just, democratic, and pluralistic society (Asante, 1991; Cochran-Smith, 1995a; Gay, 1995; Giroux, 1984; Hilliard, 1988; Irvine, 1990; McCarthy, 1993; Sleeter and Grant, 1987; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995; Tatum, 1994; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993).

Practice and Praxis

Knowledge and interpretive frameworks, as well as ideologies and political frameworks, guide and are guided by the practices that teachers develop and alter over time to meet the current and future intellectual, social, and emotional needs of culturally diverse learners in specific school and classroom sites. Because teachers' practices are not discrete from, but profoundly interdependent with, their knowledge and interpretations, these practices cannot be understood as "models" of effective teaching or, as is sometimes referred to in the current reform literature, "best practices." Given all that we know about the diversity of teachers' and students' cultures, experiences, and ways of knowing, and all that we know about the diversity of classrooms themselves as cultures, it is extremely unlikely that there will ever be specific effective practices that are transportable—full-blown and whole—from one classroom and school site to another.

Teachers' work itself is fundamentally and unavoidably interpretive, political, practical, and local.

It should be emphasized, then, that the following section of this paper is in no way intended to suggest generalized practices that are typical of effective teachers of culturally diverse learners. By the same token, it needs to be clear that the structure of this paper does not follow from, and is in no way intended to bolster, formal-practical (Fenstermacher, 1994) or theory-practice distinctions about teacher knowledge and/or the activity of teaching. Rather, it is intended to contribute to the argument that teachers' work itself is fundamentally and unavoidably interpretive, political, practical, and local. Lytle & Cochran-Smith (1994) make a similar point about teacher research, or the systematic and intentional inquiries that teachers do about their own schools and classrooms.

> Teacher research is *not* about how, when, and where to do things. Rather it is about how students and their teachers construct the curriculum, comingling their experiences, their cultural and linguistic resources, and their interpretive frameworks. It is about how teachers' actions are infused with complex and multilayered understandings of learners, culture, class, gender, literacy, social issues, institutions, communities, materials, texts, and curricula. It is about how teachers develop and alter their questions and interpretive frameworks informed not only by thoughtful consideration of the immediate situation and the particular students they teach and have taught but also by the multiple contexts—social, political, historical, and cultural—within which they work. There is no way in which research of this kind can be regarded simply as generating knowledge of how or when or where to do things. (p. 4)

With full regard for these qualifications, the literature suggests a number of practices—played out very differently in differing contexts—that recur in the schools and classrooms of successful urban teachers. Among the most important of these are: (1) enabling significant work and rigorous academic learning within groups of students who function as communities of learners; (2) constructing new knowledge with students by building on the knowledge, interests, cultural resources, and linguistic abilities students bring to school with them; and (3) making activism, power, and inequity explicit parts of the curriculum for students of all ages.[4]

ENABLING SIGNIFICANT WORK WITHIN COMMUNITIES OF LEARNERS

The term "significant work within communities of learners" is used here to refer to the idea that successful teaching of diverse learners revolves around teaching practices that sustain and support rigorous and high-quality academic knowledge and skill co-constructed by teachers and students together within communities of learners. Practices that support such work are closely linked with teachers' high expectations for students and to teachers' sense of personal and collective efficacy (as discussed earlier). Others have used terms such as "teaching for meaning" (Knapp, 1995); "learner/learning centered" curriculum (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Meier, 1995); teaching for "critical thinking" (Gay, 1988); "meaning-oriented" teaching (Hilliard, 1992); "big ideas" or "thinking" centered pedagogy (Haberman, 1991); teaching that "pulls knowledge out of" rather than depositing knowledge into students (Ladson-Billings, 1994); "teaching for understanding" (Cohen, McLaughlin, & Talbert, 1993); teaching "subject matter knowledge" (Kennedy, 1991); and teaching that is "academically challenging . . . [focusing on] development of higher level cognitive skills" (Zeichner, 1993).

There is near unanimous support in the literature for practices that engender strong and personal teacher-student and student-student relationships so that cooperative-collaborative learning, joint responsibility, and communities organized to learn academically challenging content are possible (Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, & Wills, 1995; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993). Emphasis on significant work within a community of learners explicitly supports the view that all teachers and students are makers of meaning and interpreters of perspectives, capable of dealing with sophisticated material. By the same token, this perspective explicitly eschews transmission models of knowledge wherein teaching is telling, and teachers dole out information and facts to relatively passive student recipients.

The work of Deborah Meier and Central Park East Elementary and Secondary School teachers in East Harlem provides one of the most striking examples of teaching practice that supports significant work within a community of diverse learners. A case study of Central Park East (Snyder, Lieberman, Macdonald, & Goodwin, 1992) describes an ongoing "spirit of community" sustained by twice daily class meetings where students publicly discuss their project plans and progress. At both Central Park East Elementary and Central Park East Secondary School, learning communities are enabled by small school size, students' spending 2 years with the same "advisory" group or teacher, and close connection with families (Meier, 1995). Central Park East is referred to by teachers and staff as a "learning-centered" school; curriculum and pedagogy are organized around the development of five habits of mind, or critical perspectives that are necessary for all careful intellectual work. At the secondary level, graduation is determined by performance in 14 areas demonstrated in public analyses of students' portfolios. Meier (1995) describes Central Park East's intellectual habits as follows:

> The question of evidence, or "How do we know what we know?"; the question of viewpoint in all its multiplicity, or "Who's speaking?"; the search for connections and patterns, or "What causes what?"; supposition, or "How might things have been different?"; and finally, why any of it matters, or "Who cares?"
>
> Lawyers tell us these habits are very lawyerly, but journalists and scientists tell us they are basic to what they do as well. As a historian I recognize them as being at the heart of my field. . . .
>
> In order to make such habits habitual, they need in-depth practice. Young people need to be immersed in their use. We want to demand evidence in the form of performance at real, worthwhile tasks. To do this we devote ourselves to covering less material, not more, and to developing standards that are no less tough and no less rigorous than those associated with traditional displays of academic excellence but sometimes different. . . .
>
> As teachers we see the habit of asking these kinds of questions as critical to our students' education not because our kids have special disadvantages, but because it's what we want for all children. But building standards based on these habits of mind takes time, takes translating back and forth between theory and practice, between our ideas and samples of real student work . . . It doesn't mean dispensing with the shallower "survey" requirements, but it shifts the balance dramatically and it creates anxiety as well. (pp. 50–51)

Meier's comments touch on some of the tensions inherent in trying to construct practice that centers on significant work—issues of coverage versus depth of knowledge, canonical material versus relevance and multiplicity of viewpoint, modes of assessment that are consistent with modes of teaching and learning but also publicly demonstrate standards of excellence and achievement, and struggling with the tentative and evolving nature of theory and practice.

The Central Park East schools began as an experiment in progressive education in a public New York City school, and many of their practices are like those of private progressive schools that serve primarily middle class children. As is well known now, there is considerable debate in the literature about the appropriateness of "progressive" and "process centered" pedagogies for culturally diverse learners, particularly for African American students (Delpit, 1986, 1995; Foster, 1994; Walker, 1992). However, close analysis reveals that this debate, which is important in many ways, does not revolve around issues of academic content, high expectations for all children, or critical and creative thinking. Despite the fact that it has been framed this way in some of the popular literature, the debate about content, standards, and achievement for culturally diverse populations is not between those who promote progressive pedagogy and those who promote a more skills-centered pedagogy. Rather, the debate is between high standards and no standards at all, or what Haberman (1991) describes as good teaching versus a "pedagogy of poverty" that is all too common in urban schools primarily serving poor children of color. Haberman argues that for a variety of complex reasons, the culture of many urban schools appears to equate "learning" with compliance and silence on the part of students and "teaching" with control and authoritarianism on the part of teachers.

The pedagogy of poverty described by Haberman is similar in a number of ways to the "dumbed-down" low group pedagogy Irvine (1990) describes as an "educational ghetto for Black children" (p. 9). The low group pedagogy emphasizes lower order skills, the memorization of facts, heavy use of worksheets, few opportunities to read connected texts, and the bulk of time devoted to drills and exercises. At the same time, this pedagogy omits higher order thinking skills and concepts, reading sophisticated and challenging texts, analyzing primary documents and references, and exploring alternative points of view, all of which are more common to higher tracks and middle-class schools (Anyon, 1984). Irvine links the dumbed-down curriculum to cycles of failure for minority children, cycles that are sustained by widespread tracking and grouping practices. Despite the fact that the literature universally condemns them for minority students (Irvine, 1990; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993), tracking systems continue to be common practice. They begin as early as kindergarten and have enormous and long-lasting consequences in terms of access, opportunity to learn, and the perpetuation of class and cultural inequities.

Rather than homogeneous "ability" groups and tracks, the literature on teaching diverse learners calls for collaborative strategies such as cooperative learning (Anyon, 1994; Slavin, 1985), study partners, small groups and learning buddies (Ladson-Billings, 1994), heterogeneous groupings (Haberman, 1991; Villegas, 1991), and others that foster a shared sense of responsibility for each individual's learning as well as a strong sense of community among teachers and students.

BUILDING ON WHAT STUDENTS BRING TO SCHOOL WITH THEM: KNOWLEDGE AND INTERESTS, CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC RESOURCES

It is widely agreed upon that successful teaching of culturally diverse populations is supported when teachers acknowledge, value, and build on the cultural and linguistic resources as well as the interests and knowledge that students bring to school with them (Au & Jordan, 1981; Cazden & Mehan, 1989; Gay, 1995; Hollins, 1994; Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Mehan, Lintz, Okamoto, & Wills, 1995; Villegas, 1991; Zeichner, 1993). Sometimes this is a matter of making teaching more "culturally congruent" (Au & Kawakami, 1994), "culturally responsive" (Erickson, 1984), or "culturally synchronized" (Irvine, 1990) by altering the social participation structures of classrooms and/or the narrative and questioning styles that teachers use (Au & Kawakami, 1994; Heath, 1983). Teachers with knowledge of how to alter interactional structures are not only able to support students' learning more effectively but also less likely to misinterpret students' ways of interacting and hence less likely to conclude wrongly that students are uncooperative, incapable, or recalcitrant (Hilliard, 1992). A number of now often-cited examples of classroom life demonstrate that cross-cultural miscommunication is commonplace when teachers and students do not share the same language or cultural backgrounds (Heath, 1983; Irvine, 1990; Michaels, 1981; Phillips, 1972) and that culturally congruent instruction and interactional styles have the potential to improve students' opportunities to learn and achieve (Au & Jordan, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Foster, 1994; Hollins, 1982; Moll & Diaz, 1987). (Also, see syntheses by Au & Kawakami, 1994; Villegas, 1991.)

In many places, urban classrooms increasingly contain great diversity among student populations, while in other places there are large numbers of students whose cultural backgrounds are similar to each other's but different from the teacher's. In both cases, effective teachers build on students' cultural backgrounds, interests, and knowledge stores by constructing pedagogy that allows students to connect meanings in their own lives with both traditional and more multicultural and inclusive subject matter. Research by teachers and research that is solidly grounded in observations of teachers are particularly rich in examples: students learning to write plays (some entered in local and national competitions and eventually produced), which explore the realities of students' lives in urban centers (Pincus in Cohen, 1994); students researching social, artistic, historical, and religious aspects of the Harlem Renaissance in order to recreate sites of important activity—the church, nightclub, meeting hall, media center—for Harlem Renaissance Day (Fecho in Cohen, 1994); reading and discussing gender and violence in *Othello*, *Antigone*, and Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (Pincus in Cohen, 1994); revising the books used in a GED class for parenting and pregnant teenage girls to retain some of the canon but also to include many more works by women, especially women of color, including Walker, Welty, Kincaid, Cliff, Hodge, Angelou, Houston as well as Lorde and Schockley (Brown, 1993); students writing a modernized urbanized *Oedipus* (Fecho, 1994); using rap to teach rhyme and form (in Ladson-Billings, 1995); encouraging peer leaders to become school leaders (in Ladson-Billings, 1995); hosting "girl talk" sessions led by women role models and mentors to allow girls to discuss their complaints and concerns about social issues, male dominance in their classes, and male-female relationships (Cohen, 1994; Waff, 1994). These brief examples hint at some of the questions and dilemmas underlying efforts to acknowledge the relevance of students' own interests and abilities while at the same time linking their understandings to the subject matter and activities traditionally deemed higher status by the school. How is there time for parts of the canon but also noncanonical and more inclusive texts? Which parts of the canon are dispensable? How does one help students link the meanings in their own lives to other meanings? How can destructive behavior be channeled into school-appropriate behavior?

One detailed example helps to get at the complexity of building on students' own resources. This example comes from the work of creative writing teacher Judy Bebelaar and her coteacher, poet-in-residence Katharine Harer, at Galileo High School in San Francisco. It helps to locate the above snippets of practice—altered content and more active student engagement—within the larger frameworks of changing demographics and educational debates about standards. Teachers Bebelaar and Harer (in Olsen & Mullen, 1990) deliberately restructured the composition of their writing class formerly opened only to academically talented students and hence de facto segregated in terms of racial and cultural background, by recruiting students of all abilities and racial and cultural backgrounds. They wanted the composition of the class and the content of the poetry used to help them raise questions with the students about tracking systems in general and about who can write poetry. They also wanted to provoke explicit discussions about the varying cultural and personal styles of students. The following is taken from a thick description of a class session led by Bebelaar and Harer in *Embracing Diversity*, a report of the California Tomorrow Immigrant Studies Project (Olsen & Mullen, 1990):

> Lines drawn between races, ethnicities and academic skill levels are crossed. . . . In this class, serious attention to writing, communication and self-expression are combined with a major emphasis on building a strong sense of community among students who would not otherwise have the opportunity, support, or courage to come together.
>
> On a fall day, Antoinette Easley, president of the Black Student Union . . . steps forward to practice presenting her poem, "This Is My Town," for a National Poetry Week reading . . . backed by three ebullient students who echo the refrain—"This is my town". . . [then] Bebelaar asks Mary Chav, a Cambodian student, and Matthew Fong, a Chinese student, to read a philosophical discussion about lies, a work they have written together. . . . In their comments afterward, the students demonstrate a wonderful respect for the rap attitude and the outgoing styles of some students and the contemplative, philosophical bent of others. . . .
>
> Twice a week, students listen to and write verses meant to reveal the human beings behind the skin colors in the classroom. Bebelaar and Harer also read the published work of writers from different races, cultures, and nationalities whose voices present contrasts—in form, in content, in varieties of dialogue and expression. . . .
>
> The course takes place in a bright, welcoming classroom. The walls are adorned with posters of Martin Luther King, a Chinese princess standing among lotus flowers, and pleas to "Stop Bombing in El Salvador" . . . Bookshelves hold a cosmopolitan mixture of poetry and prose by Maya Angelou, Jack Kerouac, Genny Lim, John Donne and Black Elk. . . . (pp. 16–17)

On another day right before vacation, the students were raucous, slow to settle down. Harer mumbled that she shouldn't but might have to yell to get their attention.

> Instead she puts on a tape of Ntozake Shange, author of *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf*, reading her poem "About Atlanta," with the refrain "We're Black and poor, and we just disappear." The power of Shange's voice, the words, the poetry and anger conveyed in the poem about the disappearance and killing of Black children in Atlanta does it. The class is absolutely silent. Intense. Listening. The poetry has captured their attention. (p. 17)

Reinventing the curriculum vis-a-vis more inclusive and multicultural texts and materials is only part of what goes on when teachers try to build on their students' resources and interests. What also seems to happen is that the taboo topics of school life are exposed, and a whole different set of rules emerges about what one can and cannot discuss in school. Issues of race, racism and inequities become part of the curriculum. But as the above example suggests, when the lid is taken off the box, the curriculum allows and encourages topics such as gender and sexuality, health, violence and safety, poverty and homelessness, and family relationships to surface in the school (Fine, 1994; Powell, 1994).

MAKING ACTIVISM, POWER, AND INEQUITY EXPLICIT PARTS OF THE CURRICULUM

In the literature on teaching diverse populations, there is a strong, although not universal, argument for making issues of power and language, equity and inequity, access and learning opportunity, and race and racism explicit parts of the curriculum—part of what is "discussable" in schools and classrooms and part of what is modeled or demonstrated in teachers' work lives. Teaching that fosters critique of this kind is akin to "critical pedagogy" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Shor, 1980), "anti-racist" education (Sleeter, 1992; Tatum, 1992), and "multicultural and socially reconstructionist" teaching (Sleeter & Grant, 1987; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995). Although not synonymous, each of these approaches assumes that teachers themselves must work to challenge inequities (Giroux, 1985; Ladson-Billings, 1995) by teaching against the grain of what is taken for granted in school and classroom practice and in society as a whole (Cochran-Smith, 1991). Concurrently, each assumes that the teacher is accountable for the construction of pedagogy and curriculum that, at the appropriate developmental and intellectual levels, help students of all ages understand and then prepare to take action against the social and institutional inequities that are embedded in our schools and in our society.

Ladson-Billings (1994) is quite explicit and forceful about this point:

> Culturally relevant pedagogy is about questioning (and preparing students to question) the structural inequality, the racism, and the injustice that exist in society. The teachers that I studied work in opposition to the system that employs them. They are critical of the way the school system treats employees, students, parents and activists in the community. However, they cannot let their critique reside solely in words. They must turn it into action by challenging the system. What they do is both their lives and their livelihoods. In their classrooms, they practice a subversive pedagogy. (p. 128)

Public discussions of inequities and injustices are difficult. Some teachers worry that they make young children feel worse than they already do, while others are concerned that such discussions may be inflammatory and divisive for older students. Nevertheless, there are many examples, particularly in the writings of teachers and/or in writing that stays close to observations of teachers over relatively long periods of time, that reveal what it looks like when teachers make issues of power, inequity, and race explicit parts of the curriculum. These help students think critically about the information to which they are exposed, take on activist roles at local, national, and global levels, and confront individual instances of prejudice as well as structural and institutional inequities. These include discussions as well as projects that link students through action to those outside of their classrooms. They allow teachers and students to work together as activists, often with the teacher modeling activism in the community, school, or a more global environment.

Examples include dealing individually and/or collectively with all instances of name-calling and racism even with the youngest children (Olsen & Mullen, 1990); fund-raising projects for global causes, such as collecting recyclable items exchangeable for funds to conserve a part of the rain forest (Bowman in Olsen & Mullen, 1990); involving students in long-term campaigns, including dealing with the media and community organizations, to eradicate prejudice and racism (Byenr in Olsen & Mullen, 1990); presenting published works from writers of different races, cultures, and language backgrounds to emphasize contrasts and to help confront the racial and cultural barriers students face in school (Bebelaar in Olsen & Mullen, 1990); explicit units of study on prejudice and racism (Olsen & Mullen, 1990); having young children write letters to Band Aid® companies raising questions about "flesh-colored" bandages

(Olsen & Mullen, 1990); coordinating a high school math class effort to study and analyze the race, culture, and language background of the students who are in special education and gifted programs (Olsen & Mullen, 1990); encouraging kindergartners to write letters to publishers correcting inaccurate information in books (Feldgus, 1993); pointing out stereotypes in literature with questions such as "Do all Chinese people really look the same?" for a book like *Five Chinese Brothers* (Feldgus, 1993); discussing use of dialects and "standard" English forms and the social and political consequences of these based on children's books such as *Roll of Thunder Hear* My Cry (Parham in Cochran-Smith, 1995a); offering revisionist and critical accounts of traditional stories in American history, such as Columbus and Thanksgiving, and explicitly discussing the prevalence of Eurocentric perspectives in these as well as their connections to current events globally (in Cochran-Smith, 1995a); untracking Advanced Placement classes to include students of varying abilities (Cone, 1990; Sheets, 1995); not allowing a parent of one racial group to determine that his child will not ride in the car of a parent driver of another racial group for a class trip, even if it means that the child does not then attend class trips (Contrerar in Olsen & Mullen, 1990); working with students to identify poorly utilized areas in the community and eventually offering alternative plans to the city council (in Ladson-Billings 1995); helping students analyze the reasons their own community is zoned to permit liquor stores while more affluent communities are not (Ladson-Billings, 1995); inviting individual journal writing and then class discussion about instances of gender oppression in school and in the world, in response to mounting hostility in the classroom (Waff, 1994); and having explicit discussions about male domination of classroom discussions (Pincus in Cohen, 1994).

Robert Fecho (1993, 1994, in press) teaches English at Crossroads, a charter school-within-a-school at Simon Gratz, a large comprehensive high school in urban Philadelphia. His account of the ways he worked to make issues of power, language, and inequity explicit parts of the curriculum is complex and sophisticated, shedding light not only on some of the dilemmas of teaching diverse populations in urban schools but also on the debate about explicitly teaching minority children the "codes of power" (Delpit, 1988, 1995). Based particularly on his reflections on years of teaching in relation to the ideas of Delpit (1986, 1988, 1995), Ogbu (1987), Gee (1987), and Shor (1980), Fecho describes his growing realization that his students were not necessarily motivated to acquire school literacy because they did not believe that education would help them gain a place in the mainstream marketplace. He also learned, however, that they were capable of and interested in discussing issues of power and language.

Based on these realizations and questions, Fecho (1994) over time developed an inquiry project—both for himself and his students—that occurred over the course of the entire academic year and connected many of their reading and writing activities.

> If students were to investigate the power aspects of literacy, what would happen to the classroom and how would my role as teacher be redefined? . . . In most English classrooms, language is a tool for studying literature or for creating written works. Rarely is language study as a subject unto itself. What often passes for language study is the skill and drill of grammar books decontextualized from the rest of the curriculum. What I sought for my classroom was to describe and analyze what would happen if language were brought to the forefront and truly investigated for its import. Particularly, I wanted to know what my students' conceptions of language were and how they perceived the relationship of language and power. . . . Together we would be studying language, trying to identify how it functioned in the classroom, on the streets, and in the venues of power. . . .
>
> At the start, students were not quick to acknowledge the connections. Early entries in my audio notes indicate that students resisted the concept of connecting language to power. Over the course of the year, however, our conversations turned more and more to power and what language contributes to the acquisition of power. But like all our conversations about language, little that we said was simple and straightforward. . . .
>
> On one hand, students were aware that standard English is the language of the business world. On the other hand, they do not accept all the arguments that privilege standard English. This ambivalence carries into other areas. . . .
>
> Underneath all matters of language for my students lies the tension among three considerations—choosing language that lets you be who you are, choosing language that lets you be who you want to be, and accepting language that forces you to be someone you are not. The thread running through all this is the idea that somehow language and power transact with each other; such transactions resonate in very real and integral ways for all speakers in general and dialect speakers in particular. (pp. 184–186)

Fecho's discussions with his students and his own writing and analysis reveal that making issues of power and inequity explicit parts of the curriculum is a complex task, not at all a matter of a project, unit, or lesson here and there. Fecho's work is more a matter of "praxis," or taking a political stance on the status quo and developing teaching practices that help students understand this as well. Fecho's writing adds several nuances to the debate about teaching students the codes of the culture of power. He writes:

> Part of my role is to present options to students. Discussion about language must be clear about the possibilities, consequences, and benefits language variations present. This is a touchy area for a European American male teacher of African American students. When Delpit says that black students need to learn power code literacy in order to access the power of society, black students probably perceive this as useful advice from someone of their culture. When I say the same thing, it can be read as someone ostensibly from the power culture looking to create lockstep conformity. I need to further inquire into how my students receive this message and what in my presentation affects such conveyance. (p. 188)

The examples in this section demonstrate the need for a conceptual framework for understanding successful teaching of diverse populations, a framework that allows consideration of how teachers' knowledge, skills, and experiences fit together within the demanding and varying contexts of urban schools.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Drawing on a broad array of literature, I have throughout this chapter argued that teaching culturally diverse learners is dependent on teachers' knowledge, interpretations, ideologies, and practices within local school cultures and community contexts. It follows, then, that professional development intended to improve and enhance teaching must take all of these into account, not hinging narrowly on method or best practice and also not failing to address teachers' interpretive frameworks and their values. In the following section, I join others in arguing that dominant models of staff development defined as training are inadequate to this task and that more generative ways for teachers to work together in communities of inquiry are needed.

Staff Development as Training

As McLaughlin (1993) declared, staff development is no longer education's "stepchild" but is instead the target of a variety of local- and state-level policies and practices and is now a standard part of most school/

school system procedures and budgets. Emerging from a series of studies in the 1970s, which in a certain sense "invented" the concept of staff development (McLaughlin, 1993), several features were identified as essential to effective staff development: collaborative planning by teachers and administrators, teachers' sense of efficacy and commitment, skill or innovation training with support from consultants or experts over time, positive school climate, and genuine administrative support (Anyon, 1994; McLaughlin, 1993; Nickolai-Mays & Davis, 1986). Subsequent research added to these understandings, emphasizing that staff development is more context-specific, local, and interactive than earlier recognized (Griffin, 1991; Lieberman & Miller, 1991; Little, 1993; McLaughlin, 1993). It was also pointed out that the cultures of schools as sites for teachers' work must be regarded ecologically (Hargreaves, 1994; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992; Little & McLaughlin, 1993) as well as in relation to the inequitable and sometimes dysfunctional social, economic, and political structures in which they are embedded (Anyon, 1994; Irvine, 1990; Kailin, 1994).

Dominant during the last two decades, training models of staff development hinge on the assumption that there is an agreed-upon and codified body of knowledge for teaching that can be transmitted to teachers—usually by outside experts although sometimes by teacher experts as well—in the form of skills development and training or retraining (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992; Lytle & Fecho, 1991). For a variety of reasons, however, there is mounting recognition that training models are inadequate to the major tasks of teaching and school reform (Little, 1993; Lytle, Christman, Cohen, Countryman, Fecho, Portnoy, & Sion, 1994; Lytle & Fecho, 1991; McLaughlin, 1994). I argue here that this is particularly true in urban areas where the student population is culturally diverse and primarily poor, the teaching force is culturally homogeneous and middle class, and social and economic conditions provide diminishing opportunities for employment and social mobility. As McLaughlin (1993) points out, we now know that "decontextualized, disembodied, and discrete professional development activities are of only limited use to teachers." Indeed the empirical research on staff development for multicultural education indicates that most interventions are weak and their outcomes are minimal (Grant & Tate, 1995), even in the few cases where efforts continue over time (Grant & Tate, 1995; Sleeter, 1992).

Professional Development as Inquiry

Studies of the cultures of schools and the nature of teachers' work and workplaces point to the fact that what is needed in professional development are opportunities for teachers to explore and question their own and others' interpretations, ideologies, and practices through inquiry, reflection, and joint work in schools and teacher networks, reference groups, and partnerships (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992; Lieberman & Miller, 1994; Little, 1993; Little & McLaughlin, 1993; McLaughlin, 1993). Little and McLaughlin (1993), for example, conclude their thoughtful study of teachers' work with the caution that "problems of professional development and school leadership revolve less around instructing teachers in new knowledge and skills than around generating interpretations supportive of students' learning" (p. 188). Similarly, Little (1993) points out that current educational reforms intended to address issues of equity among diverse student populations have focused too heavily on individual students' skills and deficits and too little on analysis of "the structures of students' opportunities to learn" (p. 131). Each of these major studies of the cultures of teachers' work suggests that the most promising professional development practices are those that provide opportunities for teachers to identify, reconsider, bolster, or alter classroom beliefs and practices that support or undermine their own students' learning opportunities and life chances. This will not happen through skills training but instead through "close scrutiny of established practice" (Little, 1993, p. 131) by groups and individuals in local situations where they "grapple with what broad principles look like in practice" (p. 133).

Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1990, 1992, 1993, 1995) as well as Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1990, 1992, 1994) have done some of the most visible work in this area, linking inquiry-based professional development with what they have referred to as "interrogating cultural diversity" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1992), "confronting the dilemmas of race, language, and cultural diversity" in teaching (Cochran-Smith, 1995a), and "constructing uncertainty" about the boundaries of race and teaching (Cochran-Smith, 1995b). Based on their work over more than a decade with variously configured groups of student teachers and experienced teachers in Philadelphia, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993) argue that inquiry is central to teachers' development at all levels of experience

> We take the more radical position that learning from teaching ought to be regarded as the primary task of teacher education across the professional life span. By "learning from teaching," we mean that inquiry

> ought to be regarded as an integral part of the activity of teaching and a critical basis for decisions about practice. Further we mean that classrooms and schools ought to be treated as research sites and sources of knowledge, which are most effectively accessed when teachers collaboratively interrogate and enrich their theories of practice. This argument is based in part on the assumption that the increasing diversity of America's schools and schoolchildren and the increasing complexity of the tasks educators face render global solutions to problems and monolithic strategies for effective teaching impossible. Hence what is required in both preservice and inservice teacher education programs are processes that prompt teachers and teacher educators to construct their own questions and then begin to develop courses of action that are valid in their local contexts and communities.
>
> No one can empower teachers to respond to cultural diversity or to the many other complex challenges that face today's teachers. Instead, we argue that only teachers themselves can interrogate their assumptions and their interpretive frameworks and then decide on the actions that are appropriate for their local contexts. (pp. 63–64)

Increasingly teaching and learning are understood as co-constructed practice rather than as a process of transmitting and receiving information (McLaughlin, 1994), and teachers' workplaces are understood as constructed cultures rather than simply locations or containers for classroom teaching (Lieberman & Miller, 1994). Professional development, then, needs to be about "culture-building" not skills training (Lieberman & Miller, 1994). By the same token, teachers need generative and useful strategies, such as teacher research and other forms of practitioner inquiry, to come to understand the knowledge and curriculum they and their students jointly construct (Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1992) as they work for more democratic classrooms (Beyer et al., 1996; Noffke & Stevenson, 1995).

One Teacher Inquiring Within a Network of Urban Teachers

One teacher's experience as part of a network of urban teachers is used here to provide some detail about the nature of teachers' inquiry as an avenue for professional development. This experience demonstrates that knowledge, interpretations, ideology, and practices are all parts of professional development for teachers of culturally diverse learners in urban centers. Taken together with other examples of inquiry-based professional development, a detailed look at one teacher's experience helps to identify some of the most important features of professional development toward this end.

At the time of the following experience, Carol Miller taught third grade in a large public school in Boston, which served a school population of 62 percent Latino, 26 percent African American, and 12 percent White European American students. For 3 years (from 1991 to 1994), Miller was one of 120 K–12 urban teachers in 10 U.S. cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, and St. Louis) that were part of the Urban Sites Network of the National Writing Project, the nation's largest, and arguably one of the most successful, professional development programs for teachers.

My account of some of Miller's professional development experiences in the Urban Sites Network is intended to stay as close as possible to her own words and to the words of other project participants and evaluators. It is based on the final report of the Urban Sites Network written by site directors (Buchanan, Check, Eidma-Aadahl, Sterling & Tateishi, 1994); a report written by outside evaluators hired by the Urban Sites Network (Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce 1994); two papers written by Miller about her experiences in the group and her own classroom inquiry project (Miller, 1994; 1996); documents and materials from Urban Sites Network summer institutes; the text of *Cityscapes: Eight Views from the Urban Classroom* (Peterson, 1996), an edited volume of articles based on eight of the Urban Sites Network teachers' inquiry projects; and personal communications with Judy Buchanan, site director for the Philadelphia Writing Project Urban Site Network inquiry group.

The Urban Sites Network was designed to better meet the needs of urban teachers and the students they serve by developing a support network that highlights the urban issues common to all cities but also specific to the individual sites of teachers in the project. As the site directors put it:

> One issue of particular concern was the lack of cultural, racial, and linguistic diversity in both leadership and membership of the National Writing Project. We believe that such diversity is essential if we are to strengthen the role of Writing Projects in cities, and if we are to tackle the issues facing our students, particularly in cites where the majority are students of color, as well as speakers of many languages other than English. (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling, & Tateishi, 1994, p. 3)

As the three anthropologists hired as outside evaluators by Urban Sites Network put it:

> The Urban Sites Network of the National Writing Project is working at the intersection of some of the most difficult issues in schooling today—the reconsideration of what constitutes acceptable and desirable classroom practice, particularly in urban classrooms; fostering and supporting leadership activities and roles for experienced and able teachers; addressing issues of diversity respectfully, yet assertively; promoting the development and use of inquiry skills and approaches by teachers and students; replicating productive innovations in new and different contexts; disseminating quality works in an enormous and, in many ways, disorganized and haphazard educational environment; and trying to accomplish these tasks without producing teacher burnout. (Muncey, Uhl & Nyce, 1994, p. 1)

Each of the teachers in Urban Sites Network conducted structured 2-year inquiry projects in their own schools and classrooms supported by cross-site annual summer institutes and school-year inquiry groups based in each of the local areas. Four key questions served as a guide to teachers' initial inquiries:

> How do successful urban teachers adapt and extend theory and practice in the teaching of writing, and in writing across the curriculum, to their classes?
>
> How do successful urban teachers define and measure progress in writing and learning in their classes?
>
> How do successful urban teachers make use of the languages and culture of their students in their classes?
>
> How can successful urban teachers involve their students' parents and communities in the school? (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling, & Tateishi, 1994, p. 8)

Drawing on these initial questions, teachers developed inquiry projects in their own local school and classroom sites, which were eventually made public, as was information about the Urban Sites Network, through an impressively large number of national and local dissemination contexts, including presentations, papers, roundtables, panel discussions, keynote addresses, symposia, public meetings, and consultancies (Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce, 1994).

When Miller began to work as part of the Urban Sites Network, she was also beginning an experiment that combined half of her bilingual third graders with half of another teacher's general education students. The result was a more racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse class for each of the two teachers. Miller (1994), who was accustomed to having classes comprised entirely of bilingual Latino students, was optimistic about the outcome:

> I was advised to write down what I expected to happen, and I did. Most of my assumptions revolved around how this experiment was going to affect the bilingual students. I was anxious for them, especially for those who would be with the regular education teacher.
>
> One of my Urban Sites colleagues noted that I didn't seem to have many assumptions about how the African American students would be affected. (This questioning, by the way, by my fellow teacher researchers, caused me to take another look at the things I said and wrote and was a crucial part of the research process.) When pressed by my colleague, I realized that I wasn't giving much thought to how the experiment would affect African American students. In my mind I tended to group them with the European American students as monolingual English-speaking and "American," relatively competent as readers and writers compared to bilingual students. . . . That my African American students might have a culture of their own seemed, like the Puerto Rican or Dominican cultures my bilingual students brought, interesting and special but not particularly relevant in the quest for competence and a middle-class lifestyle. . . . The main reason I neglected the cultures of my students, though, was that I had never *really* understood that for kids to learn they have to be able to "connect" with what is being taught. At the same time, I saw suburban students who were so articulate, so knowledgeable, so comfortable with an updated version of the curriculum I grew up with. I worried: how were my students ever going to get their share of the jobs unless they mastered the content of the traditional curriculum? So my own students' cultures were gradually pushed aside as I tried to provide an education that was the equal of that received in the most highly regarded suburban schools.
>
> I find another one of my initial assumptions most interesting. I wrote: "I expect the challenges which diversity will present in terms of academics, but I don't expect racial or ethnic divisions. . . ." In retrospect . . . I see in that assumption not only a statement about what I believed would happen, but a wish, and a refusal even to entertain the possibility that ethnic or racial divisions might arise because on some level I think I knew that if they did, I wouldn't know how to deal with them.
>
> The reason I wouldn't be able to deal with them was that I had a lot of unresolved issues around race of which I was totally unaware. . . . If I had articulated my thoughts about my culture [at the time], I probably would have considered it neutralized, not a factor in my dealings with others.

> I learned otherwise, largely as a result of my interactions . . . with one of my African American students . . . who injected race into the classroom almost immediately [and continuously].
>
> These events shattered my complacency and my confidence, but they were a kind of battering ram which opened the door to learning. . . . It was my reflection on those incidents and on my response to them, reflection which involved trips back to my childhood in an all-white suburb north of Boston in the 1940s and 1950s, and the feedback over time from my fellow teacher-researchers which enabled me to eventually put the pieces together and come to terms with my fear and guilt around race.
>
> I realized that our African American computer teacher, and my friend, had been right when she declared our curriculum "too white." At the time, at the beginning of my research, her words hadn't bothered me at all, so enamored was I, though I would have been the last to acknowledge it, of my culture, and so sure of its value for my students as well. I began to realize that the traditional curriculum with its white, European orientation was in fact not good enough for my students. Nor do I believe it is good enough for white students of European extraction who, sooner or later, will have to function in a diverse society. . . .
>
> Our task became the construction of a curriculum to which our students could connect, racially, culturally, linguistically, and which at the same time would help them to move beyond their culturally determined points of view to entertain some new perspectives. It evolved as I systematically noted how my students responded to the materials and activities we provided for them. (pp. 1–5)

These excerpts are taken from a background piece Miller wrote about exploring her assumptions about race and culture especially during her first year of work in the Urban Sites Network and about the ways she altered the materials, interactions. She also wrote the purpose of her classroom program by systematically documenting the ways children responded to, wrote about, and understood the rich literature she used in her classroom. Her inquiry was local and individual—within the context of her classroom—but also larger and collaborative, embedded within the experiences she had at three summer institutes and three school-year-long inquiry groups with her colleagues in the Urban Sites Network.

A longer piece details the curriculum that Miller developed with students (Miller, 1996)—a curriculum rich in writing opportunities and in high-quality children's literature, in Spanish and in English, that linked the experiences of her students, who had many varieties of Latino, African, European, and American backgrounds, through common themes and topics. The curriculum explicitly made connections among cultures, pointing out cultural phenomena that were similar and dissimilar, exploring values and traditions across cultures, and drawing on family stories collected and written down by the children. The curriculum also explicitly confronted issues of race and prejudice, allowing and encouraging discussions about the roots of racism and discrimination and including, at levels appropriate for third graders, revisionist and critical historical accounts of Columbus, treatment of Native Americans, slavery and colonization, the Civil Rights movement, and so on. Miller (1996) concludes this piece with questions to herself and with a long list of the reading and writing accomplishments of her children, including English-speaking African American children who learned Spanish, Spanish-speaking children who learned to read and write in English, and many children who made significant gains in all areas of literacy.

> Did I achieve my goals? Did the children learn more as a result of pursuing a curriculum which met them where they were racially, culturally and linguistically? Had they glimpsed that there were other, equally valid points of view out there? Certainly there had been achievement, and enthusiasm, and evidence that they had expanded their horizons.
>
> For myself, the wrenching lessons of the previous year had served me well. . . . I had a better grasp of the power and pervasiveness of culture and knew that, like it or not, I would always be to some extent a prisoner of my own culture. . . . I knew that I would continue to address issues of race and culture ever more directly and confidently. . . . Never again would I assume that I could supply everything my students needed. In the fall, I would enlist the help of the Dominican paraprofessional to provide a much needed Dominican perspective for our curriculum. I would reach out to African American teachers in my new school for help in celebrating Kwanzaa. . . . Two years earlier, I hadn't listened when an African American colleague warned me that my curriculum was "too white." Now I was listening.

Reading between the lines of Miller's compelling account and reading the reports of the Urban Sites Network provide more information about the contexts that supported Miller's inquiry and her efforts to transform both her own views and her curriculum. Each year Urban Sites Network teachers read a wide variety of challenging literature from many perspectives—both university-based and school-based—about topics related to diversity, culture and language, race and racism, privilege and oppression, and teacher inquiry. They developed and used structured formats for looking closely at individual children, reflecting on classroom practice and on the language of educational policy and practice, and confronting difficult personal and professional assumptions related to difference, culture, and the purposes of schooling. They wrote frequently about their experiences—their own histories, the teaching issues that were difficult, and responses to the writing of other teacher researchers as well as university-based writers and scholars. They deliberately structured their work so that multiple viewpoints and experiences were represented. They listened to presentations by many university-based and school-based teachers and researchers. They built into their schedules long periods of time for groups to work together to hash out issues, talk and think through disagreements, and write about their experiences. They shared the data of their classrooms with one another, offering early drafts of inquiry projects, and shaping and reshaping questions. They framed their discussions in relation to the larger school reform efforts in each of their cities. These processes have a great deal in common with other successful professional development contexts, as I point out in the section that follows.

Teaching Culturally Diverse Student Populations: Professional Development that is Interpretive, Ideological, Practical, and Local

Miller's experiences occurred in a somewhat unusual professional development context—an urban project that cut across not only school and school district boundaries but one that crisscrossed the country, linking 10 cities and supporting intense summer institutes as well as ongoing school-year projects. But the heart and soul of the Urban Sites Network—the key features that allowed for positive professional growth and development—are parallel in many ways to the processes and strategies of other successful professional contexts for experienced urban teachers of culturally diverse learners.

A similar kind of work takes place, for example, in some schools, such as Harlem's Central Park East Elementary and Secondary Schools where teachers have succeeded in a bold experiment in public urban progressive education (Meier, 1995), concurrently, with ongoing self-examination, inquiry, and change. This kind of work also occurs in cities such as Philadelphia, where there is a particularly rich and long tradition of inquiry-centered work by and with teachers on the issues of urban teaching and school and social reform. In Philadelphia, this work happens in school-university partnerships teacher groups and is that bring together teachers from several schools such as the Philadelphia Teachers

Learning Cooperative, a teacher-initiated and directed inquiry group that has met for more than 20 years to explore serious issues in urban teaching (Buchanan, 1993; Kanevsky, 1993; Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative, 1984); the Philadelphia Writing Project, the first inquiry-centered site of the National Writing Project and one that has now worked with hundreds of Philadelphia teachers (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Fecho, 1993; Lytle & Fecho, 1991; Pincus, 1993; Waff, 1995); the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative, a city-level effort intended to reform Philadelphia's comprehensive high schools through the establishment of charter schools (Fine, 1994), supported by many opportunities for teacher inquiry and discussion, including tri-school Teaching and Learning Seminars for high school teachers (Lytle, Christman, Cohen, Countryman, Fecho, Portnoy, & Sion, 1994); Project START, which combines preservice and inservice inquiry-centered professional development opportunities (Cochran-Smith, 1991a, 1991b, 1995a, 1995b; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993) across Philadelphia-area city and suburban as well as public and private schools; and many other projects that link schools and universities. Finally, there are some state-level projects, such as the California Tomorrow Immigrant Students Project (Olsen & Mullen, 1990), wherein the theories and practices of teachers who have succeeded in "embracing the diversity" of California's growing immigrant population are collated and disseminated for use by others with similar goals.

Drawing on these projects, I argue here that there are several basic guidelines for professional development for teaching culturally diverse learners. The first two guidelines are overarching principles, followed by eight others that are interdependent and resonant with one another.[5]

Part of professional development, then, is considering and reconsidering teaching as activism and as part of larger social and political movements.

LINKS BETWEEN INTERPRETATION, IDEOLOGY, AND PRACTICE

As I have argued throughout this chapter, professional development for teaching culturally diverse student populations in urban contexts (PDTCDS) is interpretive, ideological, and practical. This means that there is time and opportunity for teachers to explore, enrich, and challenge their knowledge and interpretive frameworks, including images of themselves as teachers, agents, and learners; images of knowledge and knowledge of subject matter; and images of culture, difference, and home-school relationships (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1992, 1993). This also means that it is openly acknowledged that pedagogy, curriculum, and culture are neither neutral nor value free. Part of professional development, then, is considering and reconsidering teaching as activism and as part of larger social and political movements. Examination of interpretive frameworks and ideological commitments informs and is informed by practice within local classroom and school sites where teachers construct curriculum and pedagogy that enables significant academic work, builds on students' and families' resources, promotes critique, and teaches new skills.

COLLABORATIVE INQUIRY ACROSS THE LIFE SPAN

PDTCDS promotes inquiry as a stance on teaching as well as a way for learning from and about teaching across the professional lifespan within communities of teachers and their school and university partners at the school or cross-school levels, or at larger organizational levels such as regional, state, or cross-city groups (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). Inquiry as an intellectual stance on teaching, learning, and school and as a major avenue for professional development precludes a narrow focus on methods or best practices that experts—whether from outside or within schools—present to teachers who are expected to implement them in their classrooms (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Lytle & Fecho, 1991). From an inquiry stance, the work of others is regarded as generative and conceptual, suggesting ways that teachers can draw on the data of their own schools and classrooms in order to analyze the learning opportunities that students have within the varying arrangements (Cochran-Smith, 1995a).

CHOICE

PDTCDS is voluntary. It is based on teachers' choices to participate and to a considerable extent to exercise their autonomy and/or significant participation in constructing the issues that are important. This includes participation and choice in project governance and program structures—planning, timing, topics, strategies, speakers, evaluation procedures, dissemination activities, and so on. All of these professional development projects cited in this chapter are based on teachers' choices to participate, including the Philadelphia inquiry groups—the Philadelphia Writing Project (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Lytle & Fecho, 1991); the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative charter schools (Fine, 1994) and Teaching and Learning Seminars (Lytle, Christman, Cohen, Country-

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man, Fecho, Portnoy, & Sion, 1994); Project START (Cochran-Smith, 1991b; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993); and the Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative (Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative, 1984). The Urban Sites Network provided an additional choice for members of urban sites of the National Writing Project (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling, & Tateishi, 1994). At Central Park East, where inquiry and self-examination are integral and ongoing parts of the school day and year, teachers choose to be there in the first place and in doing so choose a work life wherein professional development is institutionalized into faculty meetings, retreats, conferences, and activities with parents (Meier, 1994; Snyder, Lieberman, Macdonald, & Goodwin, 1992).

LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP

PDTCDS is facilitated by leaders who participate as fellow learners and researchers rather than experts (Cochran-Smith, 1991b; Lytle & Fecho, 1991). Although consultants and outside speakers as well as wide readings from multiple perspectives are continuously utilized as resources, the model of outside expertise to be transported and transmitted to teachers inside schools is not in evidence. Inversion of the leadership role common to training models of staff development is clear in strategies such as the cross-visitation program of the Philadelphia Writing Project (Lytle & Fecho, 1991) and the school-site inquiry groups of Project START (Cochran-Smith, 1991a) where university-based supervisors, student teachers, and experienced teachers work together as researchers. Leadership of and participation in PDTCDS is strongest when it draws from a diverse school and/or university group. The Philadelphia Writing Project and its cosponsored Teaching and Learning Seminars are a particularly strong case in point wherein membership and leadership include large numbers of African American and other teachers of color (Lytle, Christman, Cohen, Countryman, Fecho, Portnoy, & Sion, 1994). When an ongoing urban professional development program attracts primarily White teachers, it may be necessary to make deliberate and intentional efforts to recruit teachers of color into membership and leadership roles, as was the case with some of the cities in the Urban Sites Network (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling & Tateishi, 1994; Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce, 1994).

TIME

PDTCDS is an ongoing process that occurs over relatively long periods of time, at least over a school year and often on an ongoing basis wherein groups are stable although membership changes from time to time (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1992). The Urban Sites Network occurred over a period of 3 years with each cohort group participating for at least 2 years (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling, & Tateishi, 1994; Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce, 1994). Both the Philadelphia Writing Project and Project START have now existed for almost a decade (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). The Teaching and Learning Seminars of the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative met every other week for 4 years (Lytle, Christman, Cohen, Countryman, Fecho, Portnoy, & Sion, 1994), and members of the Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative have now met once a week in each other's homes for almost 20 years, welcoming new teachers, student teachers, and newly interested teachers to join them for short or long periods (Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative, 1984). School-centered professional development is also a matter of time. Central Park Elementary teachers meet every other week to participate in descriptive reviews of individual children (Carini, 1986), but they also meet for other faculty discussions of issues and concepts on a regular basis (Snyder, Lieberman, Macdonald, & Goodwin, 1992) as does the CPESS faculty, who attend a biannual retreat to consider criteria and issues related to graduation by exhibition and performance (Meier, 1995). These examples make it clear that the concepts of inservice "half-days" or discrete twice yearly "auditorium events" are meaningless. In addition, because these examples focus on inquiry and interpretation, they are also fundamentally different from staff development, where an expert provides ongoing consultative support for new skills or innovations.

HARD TALK

PDTCDS centers on serious and significant consideration of issues of diversity, race and racism, and the purposes of schooling from multiple, critical, personal, and professional perspectives. Urban Sites Network teachers use the expression "hard talk" as a shorthand phrase for these discussions (Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce, 1994), while Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1992) have used the phrase "big talk" or "critical talk" to refer to teachers' self-conscious and often self-critical attempts to make sense of their daily work by talking about it in planned and formally structured ways. Cochran-Smith and Lytle take pains to point out, however, that the "small talk" of teachers' groups is also important in that it sustains community and creates the conditions of shared references and personal relationships in which deeper and more serious considerations can occur.

Meier (1995) has mused about the tensions apparent here—the heavy seriousness of discussions at CPEE about race and racism, for example, wondering whether it is possible to sustain critical discussions on these topics but also keep the atmosphere light enough for risk-taking. I use "hard talk" here as an inclusive term to signal serious, thoughtful, and sometimes painful talk, writing, and reading about diversity, equity and access, privilege and oppression, and the roles of teaching and schools. Hard talk is never finished, rarely consensual, and leads as often to increased uncertainty as to certainty (Cochran-Smith, 1995b). The point of hard talk, however, is not to be sure about how to do things, but to allow the perspectives of other teachers, readers, and writers to challenge long-held assumptions and underscore the need for change.

LOCALNESS

PDTCDS is local even when, like the Urban Sites Network, it is national. This apparent contradiction means that professional development is organized and played out in different ways depending on the varying contexts of individual school cultures, the school reform efforts operating at local and/or state levels, and the resources and opportunities that are available at given points in time. Thus there is no "model" for effective professional development with particular organizational strategies that cut across all contexts. The Urban Sites Network (Buchanan, Check, Eidman-Aadahl, Sterling, & Tateishi, 1994), for example, was intended to enhance the urban agenda within the context of major reforms in subject matter teaching and learning promoted by the National Writing Project. The Teaching and Learning Seminars for High School Teachers (Lytle, Christman, Cohen, Countryman, Fecho, Portnoy, & Sion, 1994), on the other hand, were nested within the efforts of the Philadelphia Schools Collaborative, a citywide effort supported by major foundation funding, to transform Philadelphia's comprehensive high schools (Fine, 1994). The collaborative supported the organization of charter schools, or schools within comprehensive high schools, organized to provide both smaller and more rigorous learning communities for students and more consensus in educational goals and social commitments for teachers. The Teaching and Learning Seminars drew from teachers at three comprehensive high schools where teachers were involved in some of these efforts. Each of these examples reveals that local conditions coupled with larger commitments and subject matter understandings were interdependent with the actual form of each professional development project.

OBSERVATION AND PRACTICE

PDTCDS is practical and close to observation. It involves rich observations of classroom life; pays careful attention to students' understandings and to their written, oral, artistic, and scientific work; and promotes consideration of ways to accommodate individual learners as well as groups of learners. The Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative, for example, regularly utilizes Descriptive Review and other Prospect School Documentary Processes (Carini, 1986; Himley & Carini, 1991; Kanevsky, 1993) to try to understand children's understandings of the world, explore the assumptions underlying school and classroom practices and documents, carefully describe themes and patterns in children's work, and reflect on terms common to educational policy and procedure (Philadelphia Teachers Learning Cooperative, 1984). Each of these processes ends with concrete and specific recommendations for practice—altering classroom routines, establishing new patterns of interaction, or augmenting or revising classroom texts and other materials. At the Urban Sites Network, individual teachers shared with their colleagues data about individual students in their classrooms whose perspectives and learning opportunities were integral to larger understandings (Banford, 1996; Fecho, 1996), and they also considered ways to alter literacy instruction and curriculum to build on students' social interests (Cziko, 1996) and connect with parents and family history and culture (Chin, 1996; Miller, 1996; Resnick, 1996).

DISSEMINATION

PDTCDS promotes and utilizes the generation and dissemination of teachers' knowledge about urban teaching and learning developed through systematic and intentional inquiries in many different urban contexts. It underscores that inquiry is not simply an avenue for professional development but is also a way to generate a grounded theory of urban teaching based on teachers' knowledge in practice and on teachers' research about the successful teaching of culturally diverse learners in their own schools and classrooms (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). The California Tomorrow Immigrant Students Project (Olsen & Mullen, 1990) is a deliberate attempt to make visible the successful work of teachers who are struggling to meet the needs of an immigrant population that is growing in unprecedented numbers despite the fact, as they point out, that "there is little codified knowledge yet of how to embrace such diversity and create appropriate schools for a diverse society" (p. 1). Likewise, a striking feature of the Urban Sites Network is its conscious attempt to disseminate teachers' research about urban classrooms at national, state, and local conferences all over the country (Muncey, Uhl, & Nyce, 1994) and to publish that work in a volume of essays by teachers. Urban Philadelphia teachers also present regularly at an impressive number of national and regional conferences and publish their work in various collections, edited volumes, and national journals (see, for example, Brown, Fecho, Buchanan, Kanevsky, Sims, Joe, Harris, Jumpp, Strieb, Feldgus, Pincus, and Farmbry in Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Vanderslice & Farmer, Lytle et al., Fecho, and Waff in Fine, 1994; Buchanan, 1994; Lytle & Fecho, 1991).

PURPOSE

PDTCDS is centered around a shared or common purpose, connecting teachers' development and growth with larger school reform efforts, social justice agendas, and/or the transformation of schooling for a democratic society. The examples used here emphasize the fact that just as it is impossible for teaching to be apolitical, it is also impossible for professional development to be severed from or unconnected to larger social and political movements. Educators do not fully—or even partially—agree on the purposes of schooling and the most appropriate visions for the future of society; their definitions of achievement, success, excellence, equity, and diversity are frequently quite different from one another. In almost every example of professional development drawn on here, however, there is a consensus among participants—arrived at over time—that the widespread arrangements of urban schools are failing disproportionately large numbers of students of color and students whose cultures differ from those of the powerful groups in schools and society. Professional development, then, becomes a way of working to alter those arrangements.

Notes

1. See especially provocative and useful syntheses by Au & Kawakami (1994), Cazden & Mehan (1989), Grant, Sleeter, & Anderson (1986), King (1994), Sleeter & Grant (1987), Villegas (1991), Zeichner (1993), and related chapters in the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (Banks & Banks, 1995).
2. I have developed this framework in considerably more detail in Cochran-Smith (in press).
3. The thoughtful work of Gloria Ladson-Billings (1990, 1992, 1994, 1995) attends to some of these issues. She makes the case that there is a need to

develop a coherent theoretical framework for teaching culturally diverse students, or what she refers to as "a grounded theory of culturally relevant pedagogy" (1995). Her theory, based on case studies of eight successful teachers of African American children, focuses on teachers' beliefs and ideologies, particularly their conceptions of self and others, their conceptions of knowledge, and their social relations with students, families, and communities (1994, 1995).

4. These three categories represent very broad ways of depicting successful practices in urban schools for diverse student populations. The detailed examples used to illustrate each category reveal—primarily from teachers' own perspectives—how practice, knowledge and interpretation, and ideologies are deeply interconnected as well as deeply embedded within the contexts of everyday life in particular schools and communities. Space limitations prohibit the discussion of additional categories of practice here, although many others are possible. In fact, in the companion piece to this chapter (Cochran-Smith, in press), which offers a theoretical framework for teaching and teacher education for social change, three additional categories are identified: teaching skills, bridging gaps; working with—not against—individuals, families, and communities; and diversifying means and uses of assessment.
5. The idea of guidelines is in keeping with Judith Warren Little's (1993) notion of "design principles" for professional development that may be adequate to the current climate of school reform and in terms of which teachers' professional development might be evaluated.

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Preparation and Professional Development of Teachers: A Perspective from Two Latinas

Sonia Nieto and Carmen Rolón

What does it mean to use a "Latino perspective" in the preparation and professional development of teachers? Does it refer to making prospective teachers aware of the history and culture of Latinos in the United States? Does it mean developing specific sensibilities regarding Latinos' learning preferences and styles? Does it imply that teachers of Latinos must become bicultural in order to be successful with their students? And, finally, can there really be such an entity as a Latino perspective, one that incorporates the many and varied Latino ethnic cultures, histories, and experiences? This chapter is an attempt to answer these questions from the perspectives of two Latina teacher educators concerned with developing in their students an acceptance and affirmation of pluralism to better meet the challenges of educating our increasingly diverse student population.

The Latino population in the United States is at an all-time high. As of 1995, there were an estimated 26.6 million Latinos residing in this country, over 10 percent of the nation's 250 million people (Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, 1995). The growth in the percentage of the Latino population was a dramatic 53 percent between 1980 and 1990, and it is projected to reach over 80 million by the middle of the 21st century (Bureau of the Census, 1993). Latinos, or Hispanics, include those of Hispanic descent who have lived in the United States for many generations (primarily in the Southwest), as well as both long-time and recent immigrants from Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Central America, and South America.[1] Puerto Ricans and Dominicans tend to be found predominantly in the Northeast, Cubans in Florida, and Mexicans in the Southwest, with Central and South Americans scattered in all of these regions. Although these patterns are shifting somewhat, with Latinos moving into every state in all regions, the four states with the largest Latino populations are California, Texas, New York, and Florida, where nearly 90 percent of all Latinos reside (Bureau of the Census, 1993).

While the Hispanic community has experienced unprecedented growth in the past several decades, only a small number of Hispanic teachers are found in the nation's classrooms. In 1993, for instance, only 3 percent of all teachers were Hispanic (ASPIRA Institute for Policy Research, 1994). The great majority of Hispanic teachers are found in bilingual classrooms. Because of the physical and psychological isolation often experienced by bilingual teachers, their preponderance in bilingual programs ensures that most non-Hispanic teachers have little access to them, and they cannot learn about the unique perspectives Hispanic teachers bring to their jobs.

Another aspect of the Latino community that has important implications for education is that it is the youngest of any other in the country, with nearly 70 percent under 35 years of age (Bureau of the Census, 1993). Currently, Hispanic students make up almost 12 percent of all elementary school students and 10 percent of high school students. However, because Hispanic students live overwhelmingly in urban areas, their numbers are higher in cities than in either small towns or suburbs. For instance, the number of Hispanic children in central city schools *doubled* between 1973 and 1991, rising to over 20 percent of total enrollment (ASPIRA, 1994). Given the tremendous growth of the Hispanic population during the last several decades, as well as the correspondingly small growth of Hispanic educators during the same time, it is clear that prospective teachers need to be educated about the history, culture, educational experiences, and promising practices that will help them become more effective teachers of Hispanic youngsters.

In this chapter, we explore what becoming effective teachers of Hispanic youngsters might imply for professional development programs. First, we present a brief overview of the education of Latino students in the United States, focusing on some of the persistent dilemmas and challenges faced by this group. Then we define a "Latino perspective" in terms of our own experiences and insights as Latinas, with specific implications for classroom approaches and practices. Following this, we discuss what we believe all teachers of Hispanic students should know and be able to do, with an emphasis on "centering pedagogies," an approach conceptualized by one of the authors (Rolón, 1994b). We conclude the chapter with a number of implications for the professional development of educators.

THE EDUCATION OF LATINO STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Latinos are generally considered one of the most undereducated groups in the United States (Garcia, 1995; Nieto, 1995; O'Hare, 1992). Valencia (1991) has characterized the low academic achievement of Chicanos (Mexican Americans) as "persistent, pervasive, and disproportionate," and the same can be said of almost all Latino groups in general, although there may be notable differences among them. For example, 31.2 percent of all Latinos have less than an eighth-grade education and just slightly over half are high school graduates. Mexican Americans fare the worst, with over 36 percent having less than an eighth-grade education and just 46 percent being high school graduates. Cubans fare the best; 26.9 percent of Cubans have less than an eighth-grade education and 64 percent are high schools graduates. Nevertheless, they still lag far behind the 84 percent of Whites who complete high school and 5.4 percent who have less than an eighth-grade education. In higher education, the numbers are dismal as well: only 9 percent of Latinos have bachelor's degrees, compared to almost 25 percent of Whites. Mexican Americans have the lowest college attainment rate (6.3 percent), Cubans the highest (16.2 percent), with Puerto Ricans near the low end at 9.7 percent (Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, 1995).

Statistics such as these need to be understood within the larger sociopolitical context in which they occur. For example, Latinos are the only cultural group that experienced *no* socioeconomic improvement between 1980 and 1990. Consequently, one third of all Latino children, compared to just an eighth of White children, live in poverty (Pérez, 1991). Among all Latinos, Puerto Rican children are the poorest, with 58 percent living in poverty (ASPIRA, 1993). In addition, less money is spent on Latino students than on other students in general because large urban school districts, where the overwhelming majority of Latinos are found and which are over 20 percent Latino, tend to be chronically underfunded. In 1991, these districts spent an average of $5,200 per pupil, compared with $6,073 in suburban schools (ASPIRA, 1993). Violence is also an important obstacle to learning, and Hispanic youth are more likely than any others to report the presence of street gangs in their schools (ASPIRA, 1993).

Dropping out of high school is without doubt the most serious educational problem facing Latinos, and it is not a new problem. High dropout rates among Hispanic youth have been consistent since serious record-keeping began, and although the numbers fluctuate, they reveal that the problem is not being adequately addressed. Latinos are generally regarded as having the highest dropout rate of any group. Although the situation had improved slightly during the late 1970s and mid-1980s, it had worsened by 1991: in that year, 35.3 percent of Latinos dropped out compared to 34.3 percent in 1972 (ASPIRA, 1993). By 1992, the number had fallen to 29.4 percent, but this was little cause for celebration because it signaled unacceptable progress in comparison with other groups: during the same time period, the dropout rate of African Americans had decreased from over 21 percent to 13.7 percent, and that of Whites had declined from just over 12 percent to 7.7 percent (ASPIRA, 1994).

The causes of dropping out of high school are many and varied. The National Council of La Raza, for instance, has described a constellation of factors, including single-parent family status, low family income, low levels of parental education, and limited English proficiency (NCLR, 1990). A focus on only these conditions, however, does little to improve the situation for Latino students. That is, although poverty is often at the root of such conditions as low income, poor housing, and low levels of parental education, it alone cannot explain academic failure. For example, Persell (1993) has found that students from different socioeconomic classes tend to differ more from one another when they *leave* school than when they *enter*, due in part to the kinds of schools they attend, the curriculum they are offered, and the amount of time they stay in school.

In addition, although Steinberg, Blinde, and Chan (1984) found that low socioeconomic status is indeed a powerful predictor of dropping out, when it was held constant, Latinos *still* dropped out at a higher rate than the general population. These researchers concluded that there is some evidence that prejudicial attitudes against Latinos on the part of teachers is widespread and may be at the root of these students' lack of educational progress (Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984). Research by Fernández and Shu (1988) also found that Latinos had higher dropout rates than others *even* when they did not fall into the "risk" category: that is, even if their grades were higher than those of other students, they were in academic rather than general tracks, they were not from low-income families, their parents did not have low levels of schooling, or they did not have problems with their teachers. In trying to explain this finding, the researchers found that many Latino students expressed more negative feelings about their schools than other students (Fernández & Shu, 1988).

Thus, although the negative effects of poverty on education cannot be dismissed, it fails to explain why some children are successful in school in spite of their low-income status. In such cases, it has been found that academic success can be improved by either parental support for student learning (Clark, 1983; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988), or by school transformation (Edmonds, 1986; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990). This would suggest that modifying the environment in which Latinos learn—including developing rigorous standards and high expectations, eliminating tracking, and respecting and affirming students' languages and cultures—as well as promoting meaningful parent involvement can have a more positive influence on student academic success than focusing on problems over which schools have little control, such as poverty and substandard housing.

School conditions that help promote student academic success have been characterized by Wehlage and Rutter (1986) as the "holding power" of schools. In fact, these researchers contend that it is a combination of certain student attributes *combined* with certain school conditions that are responsible for high dropout rates. For example, national data confirm that, after Native Americans, Latinos are the most likely to be held back for two or more grades (NCLR, 1990). Grade retention is a major reason why Latinos leave school early because being overage for a grade is a key impetus for dropping out (Fernández & Shu, 1990). Moreover, confrontational issues such as cutting classes, absenteeism, and suspension for disciplinary problems may be other symptoms of alienation from schooling that lead students to drop out. Finally, placement practices can act as either a deterrent or a catalyst for dropping out. For instance, placement in an academic program tends to decrease the likelihood of dropping out (Vélez, 1990), as does placement in a bilingual program, which has been characterized by the Massachusetts Advocacy Center as a "buffer" against dropping out (MAC, 1990).

The educational portrait of Latinos in U.S. schools as described above points to a number of disturbing trends that, left unattended, will continue to doom a great number of students to educational failure. Many Latino youths live in poverty, attend overcrowded and underfunded schools, and have little access to high-quality academic programs. In addition, even those approaches and programs that have been found to support successful learning, programs such as bilingual and culturally responsive education, are under constant scrutiny and criticism by school systems in particular and by society at large because they seem to challenge the "Americanization" function of schools. Add to this that Latino students are generally taught by teachers who know little about their cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and that some of these teachers may harbor negative and racist attitudes about them and their communities, and we are left with a difficult scenario. Thus, school systems and teachers sometimes resort to blaming the students themselves for their lack of success, or charging that the parents of Latino students are apathetic about education, or looking to conditions of poverty and low income as solely responsible for the continued lack of progress of Latino students.

There is little hope for change if schools insist on blaming Latino students and their families for lack of success in school. In the next section, we take a different approach. In describing what we mean by a "Latino perspective" in teacher education, we assume that in order to be successful with Latino students, teachers need to understand their cultures, values, and experiences, that they need to develop appropriate pedagogical approaches, and that schools and colleges of education are crucial in providing this kind of information and experiences to both prospective and practicing teachers.

WHAT IS A LATINO PERSPECTIVE? AN ANALYSIS BY TWO LATINAS

As Latinas, we define a Latino perspective as informed by our experiences as bilingual and bicultural women in the United States. That is to say, we know what it is to have a home culture and language that are different from educational institutions and society at large. We struggle and constantly attempt to negotiate the contradictions of living between cultures with different, sometimes opposing, values, traditions, and world views. Moreover, we are consciously aware of the psychic and emotional energy required to endure the consequences of these experiences in a society where English monolingualism is valued, and where the embodiment of difference is seen as suspicious.

We define ourselves as Latinas because we share the same cultural and linguistic heritage from Puerto Rico. However, we have been shaped by different migrational and other life experiences. One of us was born and raised in the United States, the other came to this country as a young adult mother of two children. Our socioeconomic backgrounds and the length of time lived here have made our experiences quite different in schooling, developing English as a second language, learning a second culture, teaching as a profession, acquiring an advanced education, and identifying and facing discrimination. This heterogeneity among Latinos is often neglected when discussing educational issues, and yet it is what defines the partiality of our perspective. We want to make it clear that we do not speak for all Hispanics in the United States because such a monolithic entity does not exist. Rather, we share a perspective permeated with our particular experiences and created through the negotiations of ideas in our collaborative work. As with any academic endeavor, it is a perspective nurtured by the study of an ever-increasing body of educational research and by a constant reflection about what education should be in our society.

If anything, we want our perspective in this chapter to affirm the fact that Latinos come from over 20 different countries, and that each nationality has a unique sociopolitical history with its own ethnic identities, racial and class relations, and version of the Spanish language. Length of time in the United States, English and Spanish proficiency, reasons for immigration, and the relation of the country of origin to the United States are equally important elements in understanding the educational experiences and needs of Latinos. The heterogeneity that Latino students represent in our schools is the first and foremost lesson to learn if prospective and practicing teachers are to become sensitive to the assets, values, challenges, and needs that Latino students bring to schools and classrooms.

In our personal lives, we have been able to affirm our diversity, although this has not always been easy. Our perspective is permeated with the strength of this affirmation. The struggle to achieve a positive identity as bilingual and bicultural Puerto Rican women in this society informs our vision of the role the school should play in the education of culturally diverse students. As professional educators, we recognize the implications of the increasing diversification of society and globalization of the economy, and we have come to understand the significance and value of knowing two cultures and languages in promoting active and critical citizenship.

From this standpoint, we want to share important information about the education of Latino students, and how that information can be incorporated into the preparation and professional development of teachers. In so doing, we are forwarding a framework for understanding the importance of centering curriculum development and school change around students' categories of identification and the social contexts of their lives. We will call this framework "centering pedagogies," an approach similar to others that have been called *culturally compatible*, *culturally congruent*, *culturally responsive*, *bicultural*, or *culturally relevant pedagogy* (Au & Kawakami, 1994; Darder, 1991; Hollins, King, & Hayman, 1994). Based on the unique experiences of Latino students, we define "centering pedagogies" as the creation of bicultural educational environments in which the exploration of the social and individual elements affecting the formation of their identities and the social contexts of their lives can be explored and affirmed.

PROMISING PRACTICES: LESSONS FROM SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS

The education of culturally diverse students in our cities is a challenging endeavor for many reasons. The economic situation during the past 15 years in the United States has created a geographical distribution of wealth that hurts urban communities more than ever before (Morales & Bonilla, 1993). The living conditions of urban students and their families are often characterized by intolerable limitations including poverty, unemployment, and street violence, to mention just a few (Nieto, 1994). Urban schools are especially affected by these social conditions, and with a poorer tax base than other school districts, they struggle to provide students with the necessary skills to compete in an advanced technological society.

For Latino students, the social context of their education is even more complex, since their culture and sometimes their language is different from that of the school and their teachers. Yet some outstanding urban schools and teachers continue to overcome these limitations and provide their Latino students with a high-quality and excellent education (Abi-Nader, 1990; Garcia, 1988; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Moll, 1988). What these schools seem to offer Latinos is not only a place to learn but also a welcoming learning environment where students' identities are acknowledged and affirmed as a necessary first step to a successful education.

There are important lessons to be learned from these practices. We will explore several studies to understand the significance of particular practices that make a difference in the educational lives of Latinos. Although the research in this area continues to grow, we focus on a limited range of studies because, taken together, they highlight the major issues in the education of Latinos and suggest changes at both the classroom and school levels.

Flores, Cousin, and Díaz (1991) discuss four myths that limit the ability of teachers to develop the skills to educate culturally diverse students who are learning English as a second language. These myths, at the root of a deficit view that narrows the development of successful teaching strategies, are that students who do not speak English have learning and language development problems caused by their deficient home culture and language, that these students need to be taught fragmented language subskills in separate settings, that their language development can be accurately assessed with standardized tests, and that their parents do not care about their education. This kind of thinking dismisses research that suggests that the lived experiences of all students are rich sources of cultural and linguistic skills that can be used to further enrich language development (Nieto, 1994). The research by Flores, Cousin, and Díaz (1991) demonstrates that once such myths are challenged, teachers can begin a professional transformation that changes how they teach students of culturally diverse backgrounds.

In another study, Moll (1988) documents the instructional strategies of two urban elementary school teachers identified by peers and administrators as outstanding educators of Latino students. These teachers' classrooms can be described as places where students actively use language to express and obtain meaning, and where they are never grouped by ability level but rather by interest or participation. Furthermore, the assessment of students' language development is achieved through careful observation of their actual language use in social contexts. According to Moll, these two teachers are effective because they provide Latino students with an intellectually rigorous curriculum, they emphasize the importance of substance and content over English proficiency, they create opportunities for students to interact with the content to promote mastery of language skills, they utilize a variety of tools to assess academic progress, they use students' personal home and community experiences to enhance their understanding of the curriculum, and they provide students with numerous options for learning and autonomy in choosing activities (Moll, 1988). Moreover, these teachers are not naive about school politics, and they meet regularly with other educators to share advice and gain support for their negotiations with principals and school boards.

Olsen & Mullen (1990) interviewed 36 mainstream teachers from California who were identified by area administrators and peers because of their success in teaching diverse classrooms. The results of this study suggest that effective teaching of culturally diverse students requires an intimate knowledge of students' lives and culture; the integration of this knowledge into the curriculum; the establishment of clear norms of acceptable behavior among students; the implementation of specific curriculum on prejudice; an understanding and application of language acquisition theory; and the continuing education of teachers in ways to teach diverse students, including their understanding of such issues as diversity, prejudice, and racism. The authors describe the curriculum approach of these teachers as characterized by high expectations and positive affirmation of students, and as broadening students' perspective to incorporate new worlds. Their classroom pedagogy emphasizes students learning from one another, conceptual development, verbal and written expression, and critical thinking and analytical skills.

The majority of the teachers interviewed for this study were from culturally diverse backgrounds, and the others either went back to school to obtain language development credentials or learn a new language or traveled to other countries. Most felt that their formal education was lacking in the areas of cultural learning, and they proposed that radical changes were needed in teacher education programs, especially in cultural studies and second language acquisition (Olsen & Mullen, 1990).

Abi-Nader (1990) highlights the experience of one high school teacher who found a way to improve the learning conditions of Latino students, expanding their educational horizons to make college a possibility rather than a dream. This college preparatory program for Latino students, located in an inner-city large public high school in the Northeast, is characterized by a 15-year record of success with an average college admission rate of 65 percent. The program is under the bilingual education department of the school, and it offers a 3-year sequence of reading, writing, and public speaking. Participants are Latino students with a potential for college but whose academic skills do not match their abilities. According to Abi-Nader (1990), the success of the program rests on the extraordinary work and commitment of the teacher who runs it. He welcomes and guides students by setting high standards and expectations, including meeting deadlines, completing assignments, joining extracurricular activities, and running for class office. Although these elements may sound like the norm in the average classroom, that is not the case for many Latino and other underrepresented students. For many Latino students in Abi-Nader's study, coming to this program represented the first time they were expected to succeed.

Another important component in this program is mentoring. Once a month, Latino college students and professionals, many of them graduates of the program, make presentations about life in college and their professions. For 3 years, the participants of this program listen to a clear and consistent message: They can make it to college if they so desire and work for it. One of the most significant teaching strategies documented by Abi-Nader is the involvement of students in the creation and performance of plays that are videotaped and used as tools to assess student learning.

However, what Abi-Nader found significant about this program was not so much the teaching methodology, or the class activities, but the creation of a learning environment where the bilingual and bicultural backgrounds of students are shared by their teacher—developed during his participation in the Peace Corps in Central America—and affirmed in every aspect of their learning. From Latino art in the classroom to constant references to cultural values and the advantages of being bilingual and bicultural, the teacher strengthens students' identities as young Latinos during their adolescence, the most critical time of identity formation (Erikson, 1968). That is to say, by creating a learning environment where students feel comfortable speaking two languages and where they are encouraged to express and explore the behaviors reflecting the heritage of both cultures, students are able to better shape their self-identity. In this way, students achieve both cognitive growth and psychosocial and emotional development (Rolón, 1994b).

Of all the cultural elements in this program, the value that Latinos place on the family deserves special consideration. The title of Abi-Nader's article, "A House for My Mother," is an example of the importance of family. Abi-Nader explains that many students are motivated to succeed in school by their desire to buy a house for their mother. In Latino culture, the idealized family is conceived as a source of strength, love, and survival, and the mother embodies the foundation that holds the family together. Although many differences abound from one Latino family to another, family membership often goes far beyond the nuclear group and encompasses the extended family, including in-laws and close friends, frequently called "aunts" and "uncles" by the children in the family. Mutual support and solidarity characterize the relationship, and the well-being of each family member is of concern to all; individual achievement, problems, and failures belong to all members. That is, everyone feels proud of the attainment of each member as if it were his or her own, and solutions to individual problems and struggles are sought as everyone's concern. When students describe the program as "family," this is precisely what they mean.

The significance of this emphasis on family is that it is used to weave all instructional strategies together in a way that is easily understood by the students because it is part of their ethnic behavior.[2] The actual families of some of the students may be far from the ideals expressed above, but a Latino idealized ethnic value system is embodied in this extremely successful educational program. Thus, students see their teacher as their father, older brother, or close friend, a person they respect and to whom they listen. In this way, the teacher effectively encourages caring as a way of relating among themselves and, by ensuring that all students work toward their own as well as other participants' academic success, the major program goal is achieved (Abi-Nader, 1990).

Schools as well as teachers can make a difference in the educational lives of Latinos and other culturally diverse students. Lucas, Henze, &

Donato (1990) describe what makes six high schools in California and Arizona effective in providing quality education to Latino students who are Spanish-dominant students. They found eight common features in these schools' everyday functioning that fostered Latino students' success. As in the case of previous studies, these researchers found that respect and affirmation of students' language and cultures and high expectations for all students permeated the schools. That all teachers and school personnel feel responsible for and work to create learning opportunities to meet high expectations makes the success of Latino Spanish-dominant students a reality in these schools. A number of specific strategies lead to success in these schools.

According to Lucas et al. (1990), the six schools had been recognized by local, state, and/or federal educational agencies as effective in educating language-minority students. All have a large population of Latino students, although as is often the case in schools that serve diverse populations, a much larger proportion of staff than students is White. In these effective schools, high expectations are clearly communicated to all students, and teachers and professional staff work to create and implement curriculum, instruction, and services to achieve these expectations. Counseling services are a good example: counselors work with their assigned students to direct their academic future toward college and are responsible for helping them plan their programs of study, provide information about colleges and universities, and fill out college application, financial aid, and scholarship forms. Counselors are also responsible for communicating with parents in Spanish to gain support for their children's aspirations.

The principals of the six schools are committed to educating and raising the achievement levels of all students, and they see the primary goal of the schools as providing native language skills, English-language skills, and content knowledge. The study reveals that these schools have created policies to improve learning opportunities for all students, including the elimination of remedial classes, especially in the bilingual program where sometimes all the classes tend to be remedial, and the provision of advanced courses in math and science. They also have advanced Spanish courses for native speakers. Latino Spanish-dominant students are offered the opportunity to advance their knowledge in Spanish and to gain college credits while learning English as a second language.

Support programs also have been created to meet the specific learning needs of Latino Spanish-dominant students with the goal of preparing them for college. Increasing the number of bilingual and bicultural staff in the schools is a major objective and staff development has been designed to improve services to students who are acquiring English as a second language. For example, inservice programs offer training in such areas as principles of second language acquisition, effective instructional approaches for teaching students who are acquiring English as a second language, cooperative learning, Spanish, and cross-cultural counseling strategies. In some schools, all teachers are encouraged to develop competencies in English as a second language (ESL) and bilingual education and to integrate their new knowledge in their curriculum. Some teachers have even received salary bonuses for their efforts.

Increasing parent involvement has been another aspect of these effective schools. Latino parents are encouraged to participate in parent advisory committee meetings and other decision-making school organizations, and school newsletters are translated into Spanish. Some of the schools have monthly parents' nights, some coordinate meetings in the community facilitated by bilingual members of the staff, and others offer ESL classes for parents.

The study by Lucas, Henze, & Donato (1990) confirms that successful educational practices for Latino students are those that center curriculum development and school change around students' categories of identification and the social contexts of their lives (Rolón, 1994b). These schools value and respect the linguistic and cultural background of Latino students. Instead of seeing the ability to speak another language as a hindrance to learning, the schools provide Spanish courses to enhance language skills. Moreover, for those teachers and other professionals who are learning Spanish, Latino students become experts whose help improves teachers' own learning.

All but one of the principals in these schools are bilingual and bicultural themselves. They know by personal experience the difficulties of acquiring a second language, and what it is like to grow up between two cultures. It is this knowledge that allows them to understand the importance of increasing the number of bilingual and bicultural staff as role models for the students, as well as increasing the knowledge and understanding of all staff members. The strength gained from experiences in contesting their identities as bilingual and bicultural adults in the United States is seen in the curricular changes they bring to the schools. When confronted with opposition from staff members who think Latino students may be "lost" if moved from remedial to advanced content courses, these administrators are able to relate to their staff how teachers' expectations are better predictors of students' future achievement, and that students in most remedial classes do not improve or leave low-ability tracks.

As one of the principals stated, "If they are going to fail remedial math, why not have them fail basic algebra?" (Lucas et al., 1990, p. 329). By questioning standard educational practices, by centering curricular change around Latino students' experiences, and by acting as role models themselves, the administrators create the conditions for learning that affirm students' language and ethnic identities in these schools.

There are also several studies focusing on the role of bicultural and bilingual mentors in the educational life of Latinos. In Montero-Sieburth and Pérez (1987) the role of a bilingual teacher in making her students succeed in school is explored. The authors describe the teacher's role as that of a negotiator between two cultures, guiding students in the selection of elements of the dominant culture needed to succeed in this society while helping them preserve and respect their own identity. Their findings highlight the role of the bilingual teacher as a "mirror" in which the students can recognize their own problems, and with her help, can overcome them.

In another study, a community-based mentoring program to promote school retention among young Hispanic women was found to be effective (Price, Cioci, Penner, & Trautlein, 1993). Known as *Las Madrinas*, the program is based on the value Hispanics place on the family, specifically on the godparent-godchild relationship. *Madrina* means "godmother," and the program pairs young professional Latinas as godmothers with Latina students as goddaughters to share seminars, field trips, and other structured activities to discuss and analyze issues affecting the lives of the girls. The mentors in *Las Madrinas*, like the teachers and administrators in the other studies highlighted (Abi-Nader, 1990; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Montero-Sieburth & Perez, 1987) embody the ethnic and linguistic identities of Latino students. These studies suggest that bilingual-bicultural role models understand firsthand the realities of students' lives and can demonstrate that success is an option in their future. Identification with professionals also creates conditions for Latinos to feel more welcome in academic settings and to remain and eventually achieve in school.

As schools and educators try to create better educational opportunities for Latino youngsters, the body of research on cultural congruence in instruction is also helpful (Au & Kawakami, 1994). Researchers in this burgeoning field have documented the negative effect on the academic achievement of students that results from the mismatch between the culture and language of the home and school (Commins, 1989; Darder, 1991; Hollins, King, & Hayman, 1994). Moreover, the literature on parent involvement underscores the importance of parent participation in increasing student motivation and achievement and suggests effective strategies for such involvement (Bermúdez, 1994; Henderson, 1987; Swap, 1993). Research in this area indicates that the presence of parents in school often has the double effect of improving students' learning and bridging their two worlds closer together.

There are a variety of ways to increase the participation of Latino parents in school. Keenan, Willett, & Solsken (1993) describe a curriculum development project in a culturally diverse urban school in which a teacher and the families of her students work collaboratively in community-oriented language arts instruction. Their findings show that this kind of community outreach requires persistence and special effort from teachers to arrange family visits to classrooms; personal communication with parents to discover the knowledge and skills of each family and to persuade them to share these with the children, availability of transportation, a welcoming environment for younger siblings, and reassurance that fluency in English is not necessary for creating effective school-home collaborations in urban schools. Once these conditions are met, the integration of parents in curriculum decision-making and classroom involvement can improve children's academic achievement, attitudes toward school, and ability to adjust to the school environment. The same lessons were highlighted by Delgado-Gaitán in similar research with Mexican American parents (Delgado-Gaitán, 1993).

Schools need to create bicultural educational environments where students' language and cultures are respected, affirmed, and integrated into their educational lives.

From the research reviewed, it is clear there are promising practices that can make a difference in the education of Latino students. Many lessons can be learned from these practices but two deserve special mention. First, schools need to create bicultural educational environments where students' language and cultures are respected, affirmed, and integrated into their educational lives. Successful schools have done this by insisting on high expectations for all students with college as a major goal and by creating specific policies and programs to achieve this goal. These policies include the elimination of tracking and substituting advanced content-area courses for remedial classes; inservice programs to help all teachers and staff learn how to meet the needs of Latino students; the creation of incentives that encourages teachers to pursue certification in ESL and bilingual education, as well as to learn Spanish as a second language; an increase in the number of bilingual and bicultural teachers and other school personnel; bilingual counseling services; and Latino parent involvement.

Secondly, teachers are responsible for creating the learning conditions that make it possible for all students to achieve the high expectations that are set for them. This is not an easy task. It requires, first and foremost, a serious and ongoing commitment to students' academic achievement. In successful programs and schools, that commitment has been translated into specific practices including learning about Latinos' experiences, backgrounds, and educational needs, and affirmation and integration of students' bilingual and bicultural backgrounds in curriculum, materials, and even in the physical environment of the classroom. Effective teaching strategies in successful programs include clear communication of high expectations for all students, an intellectually rigorous curriculum, a variety of teaching approaches such as the use of plays and videotaping to explain difficult concepts, the use of Spanish when English skills are not the focus of instruction, the creation of new courses focusing on Latino cultural heritage, the utilization of a variety of tools to assess academic progress including observation in various contexts, the use of students' personal experiences from home and the community to enhance their learning; and the availability of staff to provide extra help for students.

Promising practices among Latino students are those designed with their educational experiences and needs in mind. They follow an approach centered around students' identities as young Latinos in U.S. society, their specific educational needs, and the social contexts of their lives. In the next section, we want to further define this approach and discuss meaningful reasons to promote it as a comprehensive educational framework. To do otherwise is to deny Latino students in our society what others have long considered an entitlement—that is, a high-quality education.

CENTERING PEDAGOGIES

Centering pedagogies provide a framework for curriculum development and school change. This concept was first used by Rolón in explaining the construction of self and identity among Puerto Rican women and girls in U.S. society, how that process affects their lives and educational experiences in school (1994a), and what can be done to create more effective educational opportunities for them (1994b).

We propose the use of this framework for three reasons. First, it can be used to understand the construction of self and identity among Latino students as a process in which individual and social categories such as ethnicity, race, gender, and class intersect and constantly affect the subject's conscious and unconscious understanding of the self. As ethnic children of color in an Anglo-centric, patriarchal, and classist society, Latinos experience different social relations of power. Growing up between two cultures and frames of reference, Latinos experience identity formation as two different positionalities at the same time, creating multiple subjectivities. In this process, they recreate new meanings of cultural identities, weaving together the different cultural elements they learn.

Contrary to the experience of others, ethnic children of color are in a constant shift from one mode of identification to another, and they are often made consciously aware of their embodiment of difference (Darder, 1991).[3] They not only are aware of their identities but also need to learn to function effectively in different sociopolitical contexts through an understanding of the various norms of the two cultures in which they participate. For Latino students, the healthy construction of their identities is so complex that it requires social spaces where their multiple subjectivities can be explored to learn how to function effectively in those contexts and with the different people with whom they interact in their daily lives.

Ethnic children of color are in a constant shift from one mode of identification to another.

The second reason to propose centering pedagogies is that it contemplates the school and classroom as a safe place where bicultural environments can be created that nurture the exploration and understanding of multiple subjectivities and positionalities of Latino students in society. Relations of power based on ethnicity, race, class, and gender are deployed differently with different oppressive consequences. Those relations of power generate conflicting identities that can produce frustration and anger. Such negative feelings can alienate students, who sometimes become indifferent and eventually disengage from learning.

Centering pedagogies offer Latino students curriculum centered around their bicultural identities as well as around their gendered, ethnic, class, and racial selves. When schools create bicultural educational spaces as safe physical and social contexts to explore and reflect about culture, history, and life experiences, Latino students can affirm who they are and learn to contest their positionalities in healthy ways. At the same time, students can acquire academic skills that improve the possibility that they will become active and productive citizens of society. In this way, their identities become part of their everyday life experiences in the classroom, thus eliminating the discontinuity that seems to exist between life in school and life in their homes and community.[4]

The third reason to propose centering pedagogies is because of its emphasis on the need to further the understanding of other cultures and respect for "otherness" as an integral component of our lives in a diverse society. Centering pedagogies is a logical response to difference, one based on the dual perspective offered by one of the pioneers of multicultural education (Suzuki, 1979). He proposed that multicultural education "must start where people are at" while at the same time suggesting that it "should help decenter people and thereby help depolarize interethnic hostility and conflict" (Suzuki, 1979, p. 48). These seemingly contradictory propositions are quintessential elements of centering pedagogies and both are necessary in a culturally diverse society. Through the interaction of these two concepts, Latino students are made consciously aware of their embodiment of difference and are invited to explore how "otherness" is a social construct that affects their social relations and opportunities. In the process, they learn to contest those relations in a healthy and positive way. At the same time, they have the opportunity to understand their own as well as others' experiences in constructing and enacting identities. This means that centering pedagogies do not stop at simple cultural affirmation. Rather, it is an approach that encourages students to embrace and respect the differences of others as well.

There are several strategies for implementing centering pedagogies with the purpose of creating conditions for learning among Latino students. There are two levels of implementation. The first level requires changes in the school in general, and the second level addresses issues of classroom practices. We discuss each strategy, delineating a set of guidelines to facilitate their implementation. These guidelines should be seen as suggestions for undertaking the first steps for school and classroom transformation. They reflect our inquiry and reflection about effective strategies, and should not be seen as rigid rules or easy-to-follow recipes for success.

The first and most important strategy is the creation of bicultural educational environments. This requires at least five components, including increasing the percentage of bilingual and bicultural teachers and counselors, developing curricular content and materials reflecting the lives and cognitive styles of Latino students, implementing instruction of subject matter in students' primary language and intensive instruction in English, increasing meaningful parent involvement, and developing collaborative work between school systems and postsecondary institutions.

The first component requires increasing the number of bilingual and bicultural teachers, counselors, and other professional staff in the school. As an embodiment of the ethnic and linguistic identity of Latino students, these professionals can understand firsthand the realities in students' lives and can relate to students a sense of pride about having different cultures and languages from which to choose values, knowledge, and means of expression. These professionals can also validate the contradictory feelings associated with the construction of multiple subjectivities. In this way, Latino students' identities are affirmed and the minimum conditions for feeling welcomed in school, and for remaining and eventually achieving academic success, are significantly increased. However, bilingual and bicultural teachers and school staff by themselves will not make any difference in the educational life of Latinos and other culturally diverse students unless they understand the importance of cultural affirmation and identity construction in the cognitive and psychosocial development of students. Therefore, recruitment efforts must be as carefully monitored as those for any professional who works with a diverse student population.

Other strategies for implementing centering pedagogies at the school level include developing curricular content and materials reflecting the lives and cognitive styles of Latino students, implementing instruction in students' primary language and intensive instruction in English, and increasing meaningful parent involvement. The benefits of these activities in the educational life of Latino students have been discussed in the previous section. In terms of second language acquisition, there is increasing evidence that the most effective bilingual programs are those emphasizing the development of academic skills in students' first language and intensive ESL classes. Instruction in the first language is the most important element in the success of language minority students because cognitive skills in subject areas are developed at the same time as proficiency in the second language (Collier, 1992; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Ramírez, 1991). Moreover, second language acquisition can be a requirement for all students if bilingual programs are expanded to teach Spanish as a second language to non-Spanish-speaking students. Two-way bilingual programs, where language minority students and English-speaking students learn the other language as a second language, have been shown to be effective in improving the educational achievement of all students (Crawford, 1991; Christian, 1994).

Another strategy for creating bicultural educational environments in the school is the development of collaborative work between school systems and postsecondary institutions. Many successful educational programs have been developed through collaboration of school systems and university departments, and many more need to be developed in the years to come (Apocada, 1990; Sirotnik & Goodlad, 1988).

Teaching strategies are at the core of centering pedagogies, and some of the most important guidelines will be mentioned here. For example, clear rules for expected behavior, including who can speak on whose behalf, should be established. Such rules are necessary to stop unacceptable behaviors from becoming part of the classroom culture, including the universalization of particular experiences that deny the identities of some students. That is, students must speak for themselves, not assuming that their particular experiences are the experiences of all students in the classroom. In the centering pedagogies classroom, it is of foremost importance to create a secure environment for Latinos and other culturally diverse students to explore their identities in the context of the curriculum.

Providing for academic intimacy between students and teachers is another important component of the centering pedagogies classroom. Small group discussions, learning partners, and heterogeneous groups can be effectively used to encourage this environment. Increasing students' active participation and leadership responsibilities inside and outside the classroom can increase their opportunities for self-affirmation. Student-selected topic presentations and facilitation of class discussions and activities can be used to implement these strategies. In addition to creating conditions for self-affirmation, these strategies place responsibility on students themselves for their learning and are effective in improving the achievement of Latino students (Moll, 1988). Extracurricular activities are also encouraged in the centering pedagogies classroom to enhance students' leadership and critical thinking (Nieto, 1996).

A further aspect of the centering pedagogies classrooms involves developing evaluation systems to assess student learning based on dialogue between teachers and students, observation in different contexts, and personal interactions with content, materials, and peers. Standardized tests have been consistently inaccurate in measuring academic achievement and learning progress, especially among girls and children of color (AAUW, 1992; Medina & Neill, 1990). Using other tools for evaluation can provide a more accurate picture of student learning.

We see centering pedagogies as a framework for promoting curriculum development and school change that encourages Latinos and other culturally diverse students to learn academic content while their cognitive and psychosocial development is nurtured to ensure they can achieve to their highest capacities and aspirations. To accomplish this goal, all teachers must be fully prepared to teach Latino youngsters. In the next section, we discuss information that may help teachers, colleges of education, and inservice training programs create appropriate curricula to meet the needs of teachers who work with Latino students.

WHAT DO TEACHERS OF LATINO STUDENTS NEED TO KNOW AND BE ABLE TO DO?

The national school reform movement has been defined as an attempt to develop curricula and school conditions that will prepare young people for the world they will enter either as workers or for postsecondary education. "What should students know and be able to do by the time they graduate from high school?" has become the formulaic question behind almost every state reform initiative.

It is our contention that this is only part of the question that must be asked, for to place the onus almost solely on students for their academic achievement skirts the issue of the responsibilities of schools and teachers to help their students learn effectively. Another equally important question must be, "What do teachers of Latino students need to know and be able to do?" This question implies that teachers' knowledge must extend beyond subject-matter information and prescribed "one-size-fits-all" pedagogies (Reyes, 1992) to include knowledge, insights, and strategies related to the lived realities and cherished dreams of their students. It implies as well that students are not simply receptacles to be filled with knowledge (what Paulo Freire, 1970, has called the "banking concept" of education) but that they bring with them certain experiences, values, talents, skills, and needs that must be understood before we can attempt to fill their heads with knowledge that either negates their own histories or pushes these histories aside as irrelevant.

In what follows, we will describe some of the knowledge, insights, and approaches that we believe all teachers of Latino youngsters need to know and be able to do in order to be effective with their students. Rather than a list of competencies, they are proposed as data sources for the curriculum to which preservice or practicing teachers are exposed at colleges of education, professional development in the schools, and through personal efforts in their continuing education.

Knowledge of Latino Cultures, Values, and Experiences

Although Latinos differ in many ways, we believe that it is essential that teachers of Latino students know some general information about them, including history, a basic awareness of language development and language acquisition, some knowledge of the Spanish language, and strategies for promoting parent involvement. Each of these will be described briefly.

HISTORY OF LATINOS

Latinos have been part of what is now the United States since before this country began; they are also among our newest immigrants and refugees. Whether in the United States because of internal or external colonization, war, or economic necessity, Latinos are a growing and diverse population and teachers need to understand what brought them here, the conditions in which they live, and some of the cultural values and traditions that keep them going.

It is both unrealistic and unworkable for teachers to study a comprehensive history of each Latino group in the United States. This would take many years of intensive and concentrated effort. Nevertheless, teachers should possess a general understanding of the colonial history of Latin America and the Caribbean, the racial and ethnic composition of the regions and the resulting cultural synchrony, and an awareness of the history of particular groups in the United States. Without this general knowledge, it is all too common for teachers to base their treatment of Latino youngsters on simple ignorance or unfounded stereotypes. For instance, when doing workshops for teachers specifically concerning Puerto Rico, we have been dismayed at assumptions such as the following:

- that Puerto Ricans are traditional immigrants and need green cards as proof of their resident status, or that a passport is needed when visiting Puerto Rico (as U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans have free access to enter and leave the United States; and because Puerto Rico is considered a Commonwealth of the United States, no passports are necessary for travel there);
- that pesos are the standard monetary unit in Puerto Rico (the United States controls Puerto Rico's trade, postal system, communications, and economy, making U.S. dollars the only currency used);
- that Puerto Rico is "somewhere down there," meaning anywhere from the southern tip of South America to west of Africa; when pressed, some could not locate it on the map;
- that Puerto Ricans come to the United States to receive welfare.

We have been dismayed at the level of gross ignorance about Puerto Rico, especially considering the long colonial domination of the island by the United States, thus making it part of Puerto Rican as well as U.S. history. Ignorance about Latinos is due to many factors, including the virtual absence of news concerning Latin America in traditional news sources, the lack of appropriate university courses and seminars for teachers concerning their Latino students, the continuing stereotypes of Latin Americans in both trade books and textbooks used in schools (Cruz, 1994; Nieto, 1992), and the perpetuation of negative or incomplete images of Latinos in the media (Cortés, 1993). Nevertheless, given the large numbers of Latino youngsters throughout the country, ignorance can no longer be used as an excuse.

The history of Latinos also extends to their experiences in the United States, yet these experiences are rarely taken into account in the curriculum. Even when attention is given to Latinos in the curriculum, it tends to emphasize their countries of origin and quaint customs and traditions. For many young people, the romantic images of life in their native countries as presented in textbooks and other materials are either irrelevant or just vague memories. Thus, teachers' understanding of their students' backgrounds needs to extend to current realities such as how Latinos live in their neighborhoods in the United States, the kinds of community and extended family support networks available, and their cultural traditions as translated on U.S. soil.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Learning about language acquisition and language development used to be the province of English and ESL teachers and sometimes foreign language teachers. This can no longer be the case. In 1994, the number of language minority students in the United States was estimated at 9.9 million, and of these, about 2.5 million were not proficient in the English language (Waggoner, 1994). Although many language minority students could benefit from bilingual education, most are not in these programs. Fewer than 11 percent of students who could use the help are enrolled in federally funded bilingual programs, and about one third are not receiving *any* language assistance at all (Olsen, 1993). This means that Hispanic youngsters of all ages with limited English proficiency are found in a growing number of mainstream classrooms. Given this scenario, it is logical to assume that most teachers, not simply ESL teachers, will be faced with the challenge of teaching students for whom English is a second language.

Before programs in ESL and bilingual education were formally instituted, many youngsters who came to school without a knowledge of English were subjected to a "sink or swim" approach. That is, they were immediately thrown into an English-language environment, and while some indeed did learn to swim, many sank. As greater numbers of teachers became skilled in strategies for working with students of limited English proficiency, more humane and effective programs for teaching language minority students were developed. Many schools still do not offer such programs; in other cases, students are sometimes removed prematurely to make room for others in greater need. In any event, even those students who have received adequate language assistance for a number of years still need teachers who understand their unique situation and can plan their curriculum accordingly.

Many classroom teachers do not have adequate information or training concerning language acquisition and development. Consequently, they often harbor ideas based on unfounded myths and misconceptions about the nature of language and their students' capability to learn. McLaughlin (1992) has urged teachers to understand that learning English is a much more difficult, time-consuming, and complex process than they may believe. With solid grounding in related research and a discussion of implications for teaching, he defines five myths and misconceptions that all teachers need to *unlearn* (McLaughlin, 1992):

1. Children learn second languages quickly and easily.
2. Younger children are more skilled in acquiring English.
3. The more time students spend in an English-language context, the quicker they learn the language.
4. Children have mastered English once they can speak it.
5. All children learn English in the same way.

In spite of the many advances over the past 25 years in research on language acquisition, language development, ESL, and bilingual education, most preservice and practicing teachers, unless they specialize in these fields, never get more than a cursory education to prepare them for teaching students with limited English proficiency.

THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

Speaking Spanish has not been considered a necessity for most teachers, even those who teach primarily Hispanic students, because the focus of their work has been to teach their students English. Although learning

English is certainly essential, a case can be made for the benefits of learning Spanish, or at least being familiar with some aspects of the language, for classroom teachers who teach in English.

Learning a student's native language has the potential to open teachers' eyes and hearts to the dilemmas that language minority students face on a daily basis. Even simply taking Spanish-language classes can have positive results. When Hispanic students learn that their teacher is attempting to learn Spanish, a number of things happen: students feel like experts in a subject that is important to their teacher; they feel affirmed in speaking their language; and teachers can appreciate the turmoil, humiliation, and even physical exhaustion that can result when learning a second language. Furthermore, when they know the students' native language, teachers develop important insights into why their students make certain grammatical, lexical, or other language errors. Naturally, the same benefits happen when teachers learn any second language, but given our focus on Latino students in this discussion, we concentrate our remarks on the Spanish language.

PROMOTING PARENT INVOLVEMENT

Meaningful parent involvement has been found time and again to be effective in promoting students' academic achievement (Henderson & Berla, 1995; Stevenson & Baker, 1987). This is especially true of children from politically and socially disenfranchised communities, yet it is the parents of these youngsters who often feel most powerless or alienated by schools. Research in parent involvement reveals that the most effective programs actively recruit and welcome these very parents (Bermúdez, 1994; Delgado-Gaitán, 1993; Fruchter, Galletta, & White, 1993; Keenan, Willett, & Solsken, 1993; Swap, 1993).

In spite of the positive effects of parent involvement, preservice and practicing teachers receive little information in their teacher education or professional development programs concerning strategies for involving parents. For instance, in one study focusing on the role of Title VII (federal bilingual education funding) in preparing teachers for working with parents (Nieto, 1987), fewer than one fourth of the Title VII Teacher Training programs that responded to a survey offered any course work in working with parents. Although a great deal of verbal support for parent involvement was expressed by most respondents, it tended to remain at a superficial level, primarily due to constraints of time and resources. Thus, even when parent involvement is mandated, as is the case with most bilingual programs, the majority of teachers who teach in these programs have had little or no preparation in learning to work with parents and other community members.

Furthermore, some teachers enter the profession with skeptical or even negative attitudes about working with parents. This may be due to many factors, including their lack of training and preparation in this area, the competitiveness with which some teacher organizations view parents, or teachers' feeling that parents, especially poor parents, have little to contribute to their children's education. Thus, we have two competing perspectives: on the one hand, parent involvement is seen as positive and necessary, and on the other, it is regarded as either a threat to the authority of teachers and schools or as irrelevant. It is clear that for parent involvement to become truly effective, it needs more than lip service; it requires careful time and attention in the teacher education program.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The foregoing discussion leads to several implications for professional development programs serious about preparing preservice and practicing teachers for working effectively with Hispanic students. Three implications will be considered briefly: the recruitment and retention of Latino faculty and students, curriculum reform in higher education in general and teacher education in particular; and the development of practica and other fieldwork that more closely matches the experiences of teachers who work with Latino youngsters.

Recruiting and Retaining Latino Faculty and Students

The number of Latino students in higher education has grown little over the past 20 years. In 1976, 35.8 percent of Hispanic high school graduates were enrolled in college, and by 1992, the percentage had risen to only 37.1 percent (Bennett, 1995). The percentage of Hispanic total undergraduate enrollment increased from 3.8 percent to 6.5 percent (Bennett, 1995), and although this may appear to be good news, it should be placed in the context of a population that more than doubled during the same time period (O'Hare, 1992). There is a slightly better record of increased Hispanic enrollment in professional schools: Hispanics represented only 1.9 percent of enrollment in 1976 but had increased to 4.1 percent by 1991 (Bennett, 1995). Nevertheless, with Hispanics accounting for about 10 percent of the total U.S. population (O'Hare, 1992), the numbers are still depressingly low.

Colleges and universities have not kept pace with the growing need for recruiting and retaining Hispanic students. According to Bennett (1995), there are three major reasons for the low numbers of Hispanics in higher education: they experience inequities in the transition from high school to college because of socioeconomic disadvantages and high dropout rates, among other factors; the underlying assumptions on which college admission tests and counseling are based are inappropriate for Hispanics; and financial aid is inadequate to meet the needs of most Hispanics. Furthermore, there is a long legacy of personal and institutional racism, and this legacy has yet to be reversed in any substantial way (Bennett, 1995).

It seems clear that colleges and universities need to change their policies for attracting and retaining Hispanic students and that the climate and culture of higher education needs to become more hospitable to Hispanic and other underrepresented groups. Recruiting a larger cohort of Hispanic students would no doubt help, as would hiring more Hispanic faculty and staff. However, the challenges faced by Latino faculty in higher education are often traumatic and sometimes insurmountable, including unrealistic demands on their time to "represent the Latino perspective" in committee work and other governance areas; a lack of awareness or even disdain for the kind of research in which they may be engaged; and a lack of emotional support resulting in feelings of alienation (Padilla & Chavez Chavez, 1995). Ignorance, insensitivity, and racist policies and practices often result in squeezing Latinos out of higher education, not granting them tenure, or simply isolating them (Reyes & Halcón, 1988).

Recruiting and retaining a larger number of Latino faculty members would have several advantages. For one, other faculty might learn from their Latino colleagues. It also might help transform the college curriculum, a sorely needed change if prospective and practicing teachers, not to mention all other students, are to expand their horizons. Finally, Latino faculty often act as a magnet for Latino students; with their presence, they communicate to Latino students that there is a place in the academy for them.

Reforming the Curriculum: General Studies and Teacher Education

Teachers cannot teach what they do not know, and they cannot know what they have not learned. If, as undergraduate students, preservice teachers continue to be subjected to a largely monocultural curriculum,

The teacher education curriculum needs to be reformed to include information about Latino and other students different from the mainstream.

they will be unprepared to teach with a multicultural perspective. It is therefore the responsibility of colleges and universities to undergo radical curriculum reform in order to offer a multicultural curriculum as standard practice.

The general undergraduate curriculum needs to be rich with opportunities for learning about diverse perspectives in history, literature, languages, the sciences, and the arts. Requiring all preservice teachers to develop fluency in a second language is also an option. Social science courses too need to change from what has traditionally been a deficit perspective about those groups different from the mainstream to a recognition of how such groups have been marginalized by those in power. By reforming the general curriculum in higher education at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, preservice and practicing teachers can be better prepared to teach the increasingly diverse populations they will encounter in their classrooms. More important, they can be exposed to information that will enrich their own curriculum.

The teacher education curriculum needs to be reformed to include information about Latino and other students different from the mainstream. Information concerning the students' experiences and cultures, how to effectively teach language minority students, teaching strategies that focus on centering pedagogies, access to multicultural curriculum resources, and approaches for working with parents all need to be included.

Developing Appropriate Field Experiences

Another implication for reforming teacher education concerns the kinds of field experiences to which preservice and practicing teachers are exposed. It is too often the case that preservice teachers at both the undergraduate and graduate levels are unfamiliar with the schools and communities of Latino students. In fact, because many preservice teachers believe they will teach in primarily White schools, they do not see the need for experiences in other communities (Aaronsohn, Carter, & Howell, 1995). Nevertheless, because the majority of teachers entering the profession will be required to work with a very diverse student population, schools and colleges of education have a moral obligation to offer practicum experiences that center on diverse populations.

How many preservice teachers are encouraged or expected to attend community school board meetings, or to participate in community-based organizations? How many are required to have a "cultural immersion" experience in a community outside of their own? How many need to take courses in developing appropriate and effective strategies for parent involvement? Although more colleges and universities are beginning to understand the necessity for these kinds of field experiences, many still do not require them (Ladson-Billings, 1995). The result is that few teachers have the needed experiences to help make the transition into their schools easier. Such field experiences can be part of many different courses and should not be left until the student-teaching semester. It is clear that schools and colleges of education also need to develop collaborative relations with schools that have high concentrations of Hispanic students, enlisting the support of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic cooperating teachers who are effective in teaching Hispanic youngsters. These collaborative relations can be extended to community organizations such as libraries, social service organizations, and other educational agencies.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have provided the perspectives of two Latinas on the preparation and professional development of teachers. It is our view that most teachers are poorly prepared to become effective teachers of students who are different from what is considered the mainstream—that is, students whose cultures, languages, and life experiences may differ in significant ways from the dominant group. Unfortunately, the differences these students bring to the classroom are too often considered impediments to learning rather than potential sources of knowledge. But because most professional development programs do not focus in a central way on the diversity represented by our current student population, most teachers leave such programs with little knowledge of their students' histories and cultures and with few strategies to address these in the classroom.

Practicing and prospective teachers also need to become aware of status and power differentials among various groups in society, about their own biases, and about the effects of institutional racism and other oppressive policies and practices. More importantly, they need to learn how to counter the debilitating effects on students of such attitudes, policies, and practices through pedagogy that is affirming, demanding, and relevant to their lives.

In this chapter, we have suggested that professional development programs need to undergo radical change in order to prepare teachers to be effective with a diverse student population. This means not only reforming teacher education programs but higher education in general. It also means encouraging more Hispanics to enter the teaching profession and recruiting them at the high school level or even sooner. By changing the way in which prospective teachers are educated, by diversifying the teacher pool, and by reforming higher education, it may be possible to provide Hispanic communities with more educators who approach teaching with respect for Hispanic culture and families and a belief in the intelligence and talent of their Hispanic students.

Notes

1. *Latino* and *Hispanic* are often used interchangeably, as is the case in this chapter. However, there are regional preferences that readers should be aware of. For example, in the Southwest, *Hispanic* is usually preferred, while in the Northeast, *Latino* is used most often. These preferences are based on a number of factors: history in the United States, connotations of the term, and the political implications of each. What should be understood at the outset, however, is that most Hispanics prefer to be identified by their national origin (i.e., Guatemalan, Peruvian, Dominican) rather than "lumped" together under a category that sometimes hides important differences such as race, social class, language(s) spoken, and length of time in the United States. Although the issue is too complex to consider adequately in this chapter, readers are encouraged to refer to other sources for further reading (García, 1995; Nieto, 1995; Nieto, 1996, chap. 2).
2. Ethnic behavior is defined as behavior that reflects cultural values, styles, customs, traditions, and language. For more on this, see Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota (1993).
3. For a complete bibliography of these subjects, see Rolón (1994a).
4. For an excellent account of this experience among Puerto Rican students, see Walsh (1991).

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Teacher Education from an African American Perspective

Asa G. Hilliard, III

The African continent was the home of the original human population. For nearly 100,000 years, Africa was home to the only human population (Homo sapiens sapiens) on the earth (Diop, 1991). Then the migrations scattered Africans all over the world to develop new human societies and phenotypes (falsely referred to as "races"). Those who remained on the continent continued to develop African cultural forms. Among these forms were included designs of education and socialization.

Cheikh Anta Diop (1978) has argued that at the cultural-deep structural level, the African continent as a whole formed a cultural "cradle": the southern cradle. This shared *continental* cultural-deep structure evolved and spread itself in an African cultural diaspora to other parts of the world, including North and South America, before and after the slave trade and the colonial period.

Africans have faced and solved the problem of the design of education and socialization as a part of Africa's broad cultural evolution. So when I approach this topic from an African perspective, I do not approach it merely as an individual of African descent, expressing a personal point of view. My attempt is to synthesize my specific study of African history and culture, ancient and modern, as well as the history and culture of Africans in the Western diaspora, including both North and South America, and specifically the United States. I am interested in the education of African people within this context. How did African people educate themselves? What was the aim, method, and content of African systems?

Often, when minority group members in the United States are asked to express themselves from a particular ethnic (Black) point of view, implicit in the invitation is the expectation that the person will react mainly to conditions of oppression and minority status, and/or will offer superficial insights into certain superficial though unique cultural practices, such as ethnic slang. My studies have yielded information to show that there is much more to African perspectives than this (Hilliard, 1995b). African perspectives are rooted in African experiences, cultural and political. The collective African cultural-deep structural perspective on education and socialization in its preforeign or nonforeign form must be the starting point for our discussion. Again, how did Africans educate themselves?

The entire experience of African people must be taken into account, including the period of the MAAFA (the terror and horror of invasions, slavery, colonization, apartheid and white supremacy). This discussion is necessary because of the common practice of beginning an analysis of African education and socialization problems as if there were no preslavery antecedents, or as if preslavery indigenous African education antecedents were primitive, pagan, or savage, and therefore unimportant or irrelevant, if not detrimental. Even if these views are not held explicitly, few educators seem to know anything at all about the education and socialization experience of Africans, preslavery, during slavery, or postslavery. Worse, they may rely on Hollywood images for whatever fuzzy impressions they may have.

There is today in general a profound absence of respect for African traditions, even by people of African descent who have not been taught their traditions. This has resulted in a situation where problems of education of African people, and problems of educating people in general, are considered without reference to the point of view and practices manifest in the cultural tradition of Africans. African points of view and resulting practices are a part of the world education tradition, not just the African. Some have had a powerful impact on world civilization (Obenga, 1992, 1995).

African views must be a part of any discussion of the design of education today, especially the education and socialization of Africans. Contemporary views about teaching and learning in the United States for African American populations tend to be acultural and ahistorical as well as apolitical. It is important to emphasize that the essence of a group's identity is cultural, not its income level or its numerical (or minority) status. There is a defining African and an African American culture, which is shared by most people of African descent. It is powerful enough that it must be considered if African people are to be understood and served in education as in other areas.

Systematic study of culture, history, and politics as variables in educational research to explain school achievement or the lack of it is done rarely if at all, especially in the case of Africans. As a result problems in teaching and learning overwhelmingly are defined as problems of *student* deficiency, *family* deficiency, *community* deficiency, or even "cultural deficiencies" ("cultural deprivation" or "cultural disadvantage").

African American students are said to be more retarded, more emotionally disturbed, and/or more learning disabled than other students. Families are said to be dysfunctional as are the students' communities. As a result, remedial education strategies take on the character of therapy, externally designed and implemented. Children are seen as culturally deprived, culturally disadvantaged or "at risk." With such a limited and distorted problem definition, and without recognition or respect for African ethnicity, it is impossible to pose valid remedies for low student achievement, including the design of valid teacher education.

At the same time there is a failure to examine the educational service systems systematically. In particular, *there is a failure to account for the political and economic arrangements that are imposed on the context of teaching and learning*. For example, popular theories of learning in educational psychology during the 1940s and 1950s, part of the era of intensive segregation, did not address the issue of a segregated society and its structured inequalities in education (Weinberg, 1977; see especially commentary on John Dewey and his South Africa visit). In fact, these theories have yet to do so in any meaningful way. Moreover, today's theories of teaching and learning fail to account for the "savage inequalities" in the service delivery system (Kozol, 1991). Yet the political realities determine the structure of education systems in a clear way, e.g., school segregation.

An African perspective on teacher education must take into account two primary realities: that of the African cultural tradition and that of the political and economic environment within which people of African descent have been situated, especially for the last four centuries. It is the intersection of culture and the political economy that has produced the *context* for socialization and education, which is our current problem.

AFRICAN HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Abundant oral and written records exist to describe the history of education on the African continent, especially its ancient and indigenous forms (Tedla, 1995). The best recorded ancient tradition of primary, secondary, and higher education in the entire world is found in the Nile valley complex of cultures. This includes Cushitic and Kemetic centers of high culture, that is Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Nubia, and Egypt. Ancient texts exist in Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia, which contain philosophy, religion, science, and the arts (Budge, 1928; Diop, 1991; Hilliard, 1985, 1986, 1989; Obenga, 1992, 1995; UNESCO, 1981). Not only are these traditions ancient, they are also profound models for excellence in education.

Vast technical complexes and the residuals of a broad, general culture reflect the high level of intellectual development of African culture in the Nile valley complex. Selecting the year 2,000 before the Common Era (B.C.E.), in the nation of Kemet (Egypt), we can use the ancient texts, monuments, and architecture to reveal highly sophisticated education and highly developed arts, sciences, theology, and philosophy (Budge, 1928; Hilliard, 1985, 1986, 1989; Van Sertima, 1989) existing in Africa earlier than anywhere else on earth. (That 2,000 B.C.E. date is also pre-Europe and pre-Greece, even mythical or pre-"Heroic-age" Greece.) As a result, an educator who wishes to understand indigenous Africa must understand how education was conducted in the Nile valley complex. In fact, world education systems, including the Western world, must understand the Nile valley cultures to understand themselves (Obenga, 1992).

However, as Dr. John Henrick Clarke, the great African historian, has said, in order to understand the culture on the continent of Africa, it is necessary to understand the evolution of culture in *all* of the major river valleys of the continent, not just the Nile valley, and the relationship among the cultures developed in those river valleys (Middleton & Hilliard, 1993). For example, the Niger River valley in West Africa, culturally similar in many ways to the Nile River valley, produced great higher education institutions at Timbuktu, Jenne, and Gao (Austin, 1984; DuBois, 1969; Griaule, 1972; Griaule & Dieterlen, 1986; Saad, 1983; Temple, 1976). The Niger River valley produced, side by side, a great Islamic-based higher-education system and a great indigenous African higher education system, represented in the philosophy and theology of the Dogan of Mali and others. Many writers have also referred to these ancient traditions as African "secret" societies, which were systems of indigenous education that frequently had parallel gender tracks.

For example, in West Africa, Liberia and Sierra Leone, there is the Poro society for young males and the Sande society for young women. There are a handful of references that describe these indigenous education systems from the inside (Ainsworth, 1967; Bengu, 1975; Erny, 1973; Harley, 1960s; James, 1976; Kenyatta, 1965; Lave, 1977; Niangoran-Bouah, 1984 & 1985; Somé, 1994; Thompson, 1981, 1983).

No full development of a description of African educational and socialization processes is possible in this brief chapter; however, we may say that there is a cultural-deep structure to African continental education that reflects special African aims, methods, and contents. In simple, summative terms, we may say that, continent-wide, Africans regarded the education process as a *transformative* process, one in which a person becomes not only schooled but *socialized*. A person becomes different, a person becomes more godlike and therefore more human by virtue of the cultivation rendered through the education and socialization process. It was a process rooted in a worldview where there was a belief in human perfectibility, the belief that humans could indeed become more like God. Basic skills were merely the lowest level of education. The development of character, humaneness, and spirituality were higher levels of attainment. Africans did not come to the Western hemisphere empty-handed or devoid of culture.

AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY, THEORY, AND PEDAGOGY

One problem with current forms of teacher education is that most are attached to a worldview that asserts the exact opposite of human perfectibility.

> During the 1980s, I taught a course at Valparaiso University on modern American political thought. The students read authors across the political spectrum, from the Marxist left to the libertarian right. A question on the final exam asked them to name (and assess) which of the writers they had read they most agreed with. The invariable winner was Irving Kristol—and not just among those who had shared his neoconservative views on entering the course. He converted paleocons on his right as well as liberals on his left.
>
> My students were overwhelmingly middle-class, and Mr. Kristol's popularity among them was no surprise. Neoconservatism, one might say, is the natural political expression of the bourgeois experience. It defines the political common sense of the unalienated American majority—or it does, at least, in the hands of its founder and most skilled advocate. Mr. Kristol possesses a genius for making his sophisticated and nuanced arguments appear the commonplaces of everyman. . . .
>
> Mr. Kristol proposed instead not a retreat to a preideological politics—under modern conditions, he understood, a politics entirely without ideology was a politics disarmed—but rather a politics of bourgeois modernity. He urged a social philosophy based in the moderate "Anglo-Scottish" Enlightenment (e.g. Adam Smith), attuned to the modest optimism of the American Revolution and expressed in a democratic capitalism dedicated to human advance but inoculated against dreams of human perfection. (Neuchterlein, 1995)

As we can see from the above, the problem with teacher education from an African perspective is a problem of theory as well as practice. There are alternatives to Kristol's approach. He can only speak for some. African alternatives must be considered, especially for Africans.

In order to become more like God, Africans believed in an education that was directed at the mind, the body, and the spirit, inseparable parts of our human individual and community whole. The African worldview does not emphasize individuals. The individual is a part of a group, an ethnic group, a collective. The individual is bonded through the education and socialization process. The ideal for both the person and the group was to become godlike, specifically in adhering to the principles of MAAT (truth, justice, order, reciprocity, harmony, and balance) (Obenga, 1995). MAAT is shown by Obenga to be a core African value system from east to west Africa, and from north to south.

Africans expected that with cultivation the African mind could be developed to higher and higher levels, from the concrete to the abstract, from the profane to the divine. One way of expressing these levels of mental attainment that come as a consequence of a spiritually oriented training process is that offered by the traditional practices of the Dogon. For the Dogon, education is virtually a lifelong process. At the first level, *Giri So*, as Marimba Ani has shown (Ani, 1994), is the "word at face value" or perception without understanding. As the student increases in depth of knowledge and understanding, they reach the second level, *Benne So*, or the "word from the side," which means having sight and developing a perspective. The third level is *Bolo So*, or "the word from behind," which means the development of insight. The final level was *So Dayi*, the "clear word," meaning the development of vision. Two French anthropologists, Dieterlen and Griaule (Griaule, 1972; Griaule & Dieterlen, 1986), spent more than a decade being initiated into Dogan secret society, without reaching the level of the clear word. This entire process is said to take many years.

African methods of education emphasize the tutorial, apprenticeship, and social learning.

The aim of African education for the mind could not be separated from education for the body, which was also seen as a divine temple, housing a spirit. As a result, the education for mind and body was also linked to education for the spirit. Therefore, in African tradition, it is the role for the teacher to appeal to the intellect, to the humanity, to the physical, and to the spiritual in their students. Of course, to make such an appeal, one must be convinced of the inherent intellectual capability, the humanity, and the inherent physical capabilities of the students, and the inherent spiritual character of students.

Quite clearly, an education process that has these things as its goals requires a corresponding kind of teacher education. African methods of education emphasize the tutorial, apprenticeship, and social learning. The content of the education process included those things that would help the student to advance not only themselves but also their ethnic family. Any honest reading of the evolution of education practices on the African continent would have to acknowledge the brilliance of Africans in teaching and learning. Invaders, colonizers, and slavers met Africans who were excellent at teaching and learning and who remained excellent even during slavery, colonization, and apartheid. Some researchers have discovered the African genius in teaching (Ainsworth, 1967; DuBois, 1969; Erny, 1973; Geber, 1958; Pearce, 1977).

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY

The struggle of African people to maintain a functioning educational tradition is documented in the works of Carter G. Woodson (1917, 1977), James Anderson (1988), Edward Wilmont Blyden (1994), and W.E.B. DuBois (1973) (Aptheker, 1973; King, 1971; Spivey, 1978; Webber, 1978).

Not only were Africans enslaved and colonized, their oppressors mounted massive cultural assaults to change the African, to break the bonds, to destroy MAATian values. The oppressors practiced cultural genocide and cultural totalitarianism.

Independent African schools were developed, in secret, in the years before the U.S. Emancipation Proclamation (1863). African Freedom Schools were developed and flourished by the hundreds, independently supported by the African community in the years immediately following slavery. They were destroyed by policies of the Freedmans Bureau, an agency that was supposed to be helpful to the African community.

At the higher education level, as represented in historically Black colleges and universities (both public and private) and in the public schools, many hundreds of examples of excellent education, designed and implemented by Africans, have been found (Bond, 1972; Sizemore, 1988; Sizemore, Brosard, & Harrigan, 1982). While the African cultural flavor of these schools diminished with time because of oppression, especially attempts at ethnic cleansing, they still demonstrated the power of teaching and learning with African students.

These brief historical flashes should help us to understand the nature of the problem that we face as we begin to think about present-day teacher preparation. Traditional teacher education in the United States has evolved a general orientation that seems to suggest that teaching is primarily a technological or technical practice. A view of the teacher as technician seems to be emerging. This determines the nature of teacher education. In the African tradition, the teacher was less a technician than a mother, father, or elder; in short, a nurturer. In U.S. education, when learning does not occur, the overwhelming view is that students have problems. Consequently, many of our resources are directed at the discovery of these problems, and remedies are proposed for these perceived problems.

Undoubtably, there will be improvements to teaching and learning by virtue of research and the development of some technical skills; however, given the fact that universal high-quality education has already been demonstrated in the absence of the new technologies in teaching should give us pause. What is the nature of teacher education for teachers who are to be nurturers, who do not doubt the capacities of the students, and who respect the culture of the community?

THE MISEDUCATION OF AFRICANS: THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS AND ACADEMICIANS

Over the past four centuries, Africans have endured overt White supremacy belief and behaviors. The schools have been used as one of the major tools to structure the domination of Africans by Europeans through curriculum, school structure, and methods of instruction and public policy (Anderson, 1988; Blyden, 1994; Chase, 1977; Cruse, 1967; Delpit, 1995; King, 1971; Kozol, 1991; Oakes, 1985; Rodney, 1922; Spivey, 1978; Williams, 1974; Woodson, 1919, 1933). I do not believe that the full import of this fact has yet been understood. Not only have Africans been deprived of school, but the schools have been used a tool to prevent educational advancement and to ensure domination. To some extent, the teacher education curriculum has been used to rationalize domination and sometimes has been a tool of domination. For example, widely accepted psychological theories of intellectual inferiority of African populations propounded by psychologists that serve as a foundation in teacher education, leading to invalid labeling and invalid remedial teaching (Gould, 1981; Guthrie, 1976; Hehir & Latus, 1993; Heller, Holtzman, & Messick, 1982; Hilliard, 1984, 1994, 1995a; Jensen, 1980; Kamin, 1974; Murray & Herrnstein, 1994).

Similarly, educational sociology attributes school failure to Black family pathology, educational anthropology (Lewis, 1973; Lutz &

Collins, 1993) has attributed school failure to Black community or cultural pathology, and educational history has ignored the fact that Africans had a sophisticated and powerful educational process (Frederickson, 1971; Hegel, 1831; Hodge, Struckmann, & Trost, 1975; Lutz & Collins, 1993; Montagu, 1980; Willhelm, 1971). With abundant justification, we may actually call the role that some academic teacher education foundations course work has played in the design of education "the foundations of miseducation."

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

And so we have two problems. On the one hand, we must undo the damage that has been done and is still being done to the teaching and learning process and to African and other students by years of miseducation as a consequence of slavery, segregation, colonization, and apartheid. On the other hand, we must attend to those areas of the curriculum that have tolerated or supported these practices. We must document the vast experience of successful teachers, Africans and others, with the African population, and we must enrich the content of the curriculum with documentation of the African experience.

We must enrich the content of the curriculum with documentation of the African experience.

Many educators have been successful where currently popular educational theories would have predicted that there would be failure (Backler & Eakin, 1993; Bond, 1972; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Sizemore, 1988; Sizemore, Brosard, & Harrigan, 1982). So we must ask, how were the teachers trained who worked in the schools that do not fail the children? This has not been done in any major way. Few educational research dollars have been devoted to this topic. Yet there is a rich body of information that would enable us to transform education. This body of information would help to erase the doubt about human capacity, particularly about the capacity of African students, a doubt that has been produced by largely unrebutted White supremacy scholarship over the past four centuries. It would challenge many of the invalid assumptions and false theories presently taught in teacher education.

Secondly, our ideas on the education of teachers must take into account the millennia of successful educational practice reflected on the African continent and in the African diaspora. This experience has much to offer to discussions of aim, method, and content, for anyone, African or other. We already see the enrichment of the Western early childhood curriculum, teacher education, and parenting practice because of the research done on African nurturing practices in such places as Uganda, Johannesburg, and Dakar on the African continent (Ainsworth, 1967; Geber, 1958; Pearce, 1977). Perhaps such popular education strategies as "cooperative" learning would have been "discovered" and considered much earlier had a serious study of African methods of education been undertaken (Shujaa, 1994; T'shaka, 1994).

Not only is there a good record of African practices in education along with theories and philosophies, the residuals of those practices still operate on the African continent and in the diaspora. I have experienced excellent education in the African community firsthand. My grandfather, father, and mother were teachers. Most of my father's siblings were also teachers. I attended segregated schools from kindergarten through the fifth grade. Because of my father's work as an educator, I encountered hundreds of educators in the African community in Texas and from other parts of the country as well. Although the range of quality varied among schools, as might be expected, the very fact that there were many excellent schools is something to be noted, given the segregated conditions of the society.

Not only were many schools excellent, there were also many excellent teachers throughout the African community in churches and in clubs. The educators that I knew worked hard to create bonds among students, bonds with the school, bonds of the school to the community and bonds of the community to destiny. Heavy emphasis was placed on basic skills achievement, in addition to character development. My teachers sought to develop a student who was respectful, knowledgeable, and caring, who belonged to the community, would act responsibly, and was healthy and clear about his or her identity. Some of my teachers sought to produce students who were open-minded, questioning and creative.

There were many legendary teachers in the African American community, like the great Benjamin Elija Mays, former president of Morehouse College in Atlanta. Students in the Black colleges and universities and even in the high schools often recounted the work of great teachers who were visionaries, more parents and nurturers than technicians. They were dedicated and demanding, imbued with a sense of mission and purpose, and they were sacrificial.

It is interesting to note the dialogue in discussions of school problems today: "school reform," "minimum competency," "effective schools," "school choice," "charter schools," "vocational education," "school restructuring," "site-based management," "total quality management," "minority to majority busing," "year-round schools," "magnet schools," and, strangely, "boot camp." While the effort marked by these labels certainly deserves attention, little in this language for talking about school problems seems to refer to the higher-order goals of intellectual development, character development, and, of course, spiritual development.

So once again, it is necessary to delimit this discussion to the more basic goals of basic skills achievement and other goals thought to be universal in mainstream teaching and learning and teacher education. Therefore, this discussion can proceed with the understanding that extremely important parts of an ideal education and socialization process are not being handled here.

THE PRAGMATICS

Given this background, let's get down to the pragmatics of what is required for change in teacher education.

There are basic limits on the practice of education and socialization in the public schools. I do not demand nor do I expect that public schools in the United States can accommodate substantially an extension of the excellent educational traditions of African or African diasporan people. For example, I know that the public schools do not deal with spiritual matters at all, at least in any open and legally sanctioned way. I also know that the aims of schooling in the United States tend to be limited to preparing students for jobs, for the world of work, not for transformation and character development.

Since we have yet to reach the old goals of "minimum competency," reaching limited mediocre standards will require a major effort. In discussing teacher education for this chapter, I am concerned that all students, especially African students, reach the highest standards set by the schools. The pragmatics that follow are in response to the limited goal of meeting public school standards. To reach excellence, critical and creative thought, character development, and spiritual growth will impose even greater demands on the teacher education process than the current will of the public or plans of policymakers compel.

Thus, while this chapter has the narrow focus of an African perspective, it has broad implications for teaching and learning in general.

The Practicum Site

Given the fact that hundreds of successful teachers and successful schools in the United States exist now and have existed in the past for

African American students, a successful teacher education program would have to reflect an awareness of this and the use of those school sites almost exclusively for the training of teachers to work with students. Otherwise, teachers come away from the teacher education experience with no sense of hope that all children can be educated, engendered largely because of the trainees' exposure to failing systems and the failure to expose teacher to excellent systems. Naturally, the same principle would apply for training teachers to be successful with any group. However, by thinking of how to be successful with the traditionally lowest performing groups, we must understand how to prepare teachers for all children.

An appropriate practicum site for the training of teachers to be successful with African American students should be in a school where the overwhelming majority of the teachers are successful with those students. Ideally, such schools could be very much like the ones described by Sizemore (Sizemore, 1988; Sizemore, Brosard, & Harrigan, 1982). In other words, the general level of student performance should be far above the current average, whether they are minorities or not. In the case of the schools described by Sizemore, children's academic achievement test scores fall generally within the top quartile, in spite of the fact that their socioeconomic status and, in particular, their income, is in the bottom quartile. Of course, comparative (normative) ranking may mean little unless the performance of the top quartile meets certain excellent criterion levels. In the final analysis, the teacher should be trained in a school that serves African American children so well that their achievement is competitive with students anywhere or trained in a school that meets the needs of other traditionally low performing groups.

The practicum site should be one where the whole school has made a commitment to being a practicum site, not merely one or two teachers. The support of the entire faculty and administration for the teacher training mission is essential. The structure of the school as a teacher training site should reflect that mission.

The practicum site should be structured in such a way that training is possible. This means that there are appropriate physical spaces for intern and master teacher to meet and that there are appropriate places for staff development to be conducted on site for the entire faculty. Teachers should be trained at a site where ongoing staff development is a priority for everyone. Additionally, one would expect that minimal technological support would be provided in this day and age. The type of technical support would include classrooms with viewing rooms, two-way viewing windows, and videotape play-back capability. Above all, the structure must provide appropriate and sufficient time for teacher training, debriefing and planning, and observation and demonstration.

Too often the practicum site is selected based on availability and willingness of teachers to assume the "burden" of a student teacher rather than on its qualification as a training site.

There are special programs and regular school settings where the success of African American students is due to a formally organized staff development process. For example, Project SEED (Dallas Public Schools, director Hamid Ebrahimi) has been training teachers for more than two decades; hundreds have been trained to teach African American children and others higher-level, abstract, conceptually oriented mathematics, and to do this at kindergarten through the sixth-grade level. In some cases, special education students have also been taught higher math.

The success of the children in Project SEED is important, but what may be even more important is that there is an articulated routine for preparing teachers to become successful, and that with this preparation they do become successful. It would seem that a good teacher education program would benefit from a survey of such successful teacher education practices. The survey of the variety of ways in which successful teachers are trained to work with any student population can yield principles by which other successful teacher education approaches can be organized.

The Master Teacher

The teacher education structure must include a valid internship for teachers in training. A valid internship includes the presence of a real "master" teacher, a master teacher being one who among other things is successful with children who are otherwise predicted to fail, such as low-income African American children. A valid internship includes a turn-taking structure between the master teacher and the intern. A turn-taking structure means that both must be present in the classroom environment for most of the time and both participating in demonstration and critique of each other's work and the work of other teachers. A valid internship requires that master teacher and intern participate in coplanning of classroom lessons, and that both master teacher and intern be engaged in appropriate outreach activities to the home and community of students that they serve. A valid internship requires that master teacher and intern be involved in the cultural socialization of the students in their charge, both within and beyond the classroom.

The Master Professor

Teacher educators in the higher education community also must meet certain standards. "Clinical professors," supervisors of field experiences, must be able to demonstrate that they can raise the achievement of traditionally low performing students to levels of excellence. The master professor must be a performer—a master performer. The master professor must be able to articulate the parameters of successful teaching.

Of course, few if any teacher education programs in higher education exercise any quality control of the performance of professors who supervise field experiences. Few, if any, programs require any demonstration by professors of classroom expertise. Some field experience supervisors at the higher education level even argue that teaching expertise is not a prerequisite for their assignment. This is the Achilles heel of teacher education. Master professor, master teacher, and intern must all be successful performers! Otherwise, we will never break the vicious cycle of training new teachers in poor and invalid learning environments. The teacher educators in the foundations areas (psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, philosophy, policy studies, research, etc.) are not required to be "clinical" experts. However, they must be required to demonstrate a broad base of content knowledge. They must understand their disciplines from a pluralistic cultural perspective.

The Cultural Knowledge Base

The teacher education program for teachers to serve African American children, or other traditionally excluded or poorly served children, must require some level of proficiency in cultural knowledge about African people or other people. It is virtually impossible for teachers to develop a profound respect for their African students if they cannot even locate African people in time (chronology) and in space (geography), in terms of the thematics of the evolution of their culture (Hilliard, 1995b; Hilliard, Payton-Stewart, & Williams, 1990; Karenga, 1982; Owusu, 1995; Woodson, 1968; Williams, 1883). Having no sense of chronology, no sense of where African people are in the world, and no sense of African culture limits a teacher's ability to understand students with whom they may work. Such teachers see students merely in episodic terms and cannot place students in context. This results in varying degrees of alienation of students from school experiences, the impairment of communication, a reduction in motivation and effort, and ultimately in low achievement.

There can be no recognition without information. There can be no respect without recognition. How can new teachers, even new teachers who are African but who have no respect (information and recognition) for African people, teach students successfully? How can teachers get the information when it does not appear in the teacher education curriculum?

There is little meaningful information about African people in the traditional undergraduate liberal arts curriculum. This deficient curriculum is followed by a deficient teacher education curriculum with foundations coursework in psychology, anthropology, sociology, history, philosophy, linguistics, research, etc., essentially devoid of meaningful materials about African people. Not only that; at the same time, many of these disciplines, with the little that is presented, convey false, distorted, and even defamatory information about Africans. Finally, there is an implied universality about the curriculum in the traditional foundations courses, even though most of it applies mainly to student or school environments reflecting European-American culture.

Given that there are so many African children who are served by the schools, and given the notoriously low levels of academic achievement for these children, it borders on professional malpractice to continue to offer teacher training that is unaffected by the academic knowledge base that does exist about African people but which is unknown and therefore unused.

The Study of the Origin, Dynamics, and Consequences of White Supremacy

The problem of white supremacy is very difficult to discuss due to massive denial and to the sensitive nature of the issue. Yet this is a central fact of Western civilization for at least the past two hundred years. The benign and superficial terms "human relations," "diversity," "multiculturalism," etc., do not begin to illuminate the structure and function of White supremacy. This problem intrudes into teacher education at every point. It must be examined honestly, courageously, and completely. There is a body of literature appropriate for this purpose (Ani, 1994; Bengu, 1975; Blyden, 1994; Hodge, Struckmann, & Trost, 1975; Wilhelm, 1971; Wobogo, 1990; Weinberg, 1977).

We may argue about the causes of White supremacy or about its age (Wobogo, 1990). Yet what really matters is understanding how it works, especially how it works through the schooling process. Precisely, what are its methods, strategies, and techniques? (Almaguer, 1994).

For example, we know that White supremacy systems define others as "uncivilized," "pagan," "nonhuman," and/or "not capable." We know that oppressed populations, and especially their leaders, are demonized and that the history and culture of oppressed people is suppressed, distorted, and destroyed. We know that a variety of divide-and-conquer tactics are used. We may have a better chance to defeat the strategies if we become conscious of them. Teachers are bound ethically to study White supremacy in the schooling process.

Performance Criteria for Trainee

A successful teacher education program requires that the teachers graduating from training demonstrate successful performance. Successful performance is the ability to produce a high-quality educational achievement level for all students without regard for ethnicity or socioeconomic status. Virtually all students should be able to meet criterion levels (not merely norm levels) of performance equivalent to a college preparatory curriculum by the time of high school graduation, the at-risk, slow learner, or deprived categorization notwithstanding (Hilliard, Sizemore, et al., 1984).

Professional Knowledge for Trainee

A successful teacher education program requires that teachers in training have a broad-based awareness of best practice with African American students. One result of a good teacher education program is that trainees would be familiar intimately with many examples of successful education of African American students. In addition, trainees would be aware of the literature that records, documents, and interprets the efforts of successful schools and teachers. In other words, not only must a trainee have an experience in a best practice environment, the trainee must be able to generalize about best practice by comparing his or her own experience with that of educators in other settings.

Theory and Its Application for Trainee

A good teacher education program requires not only that best practice be located but also that there is a theory to explain why best practice is successful. It is unfortunate that the greater proportion of professional literature on teaching and learning seems to be concerned with explaining school failure. It is hard to find literature that reports on successful practice and harder still to find literature that offers theories as to why some teachers and schools are so overwhelmingly successful. But theory should be a guide to practice. There should be no nontheoretical practitioners, and there should be no nonpractical theoreticians. This is especially true when it comes to teaching the African American child in the context of an environment where respected educators, sociologists, and psychologists have suggested that teaching and learning cannot be successful for these students.

Judging the Quality of Teaching

The teacher education program must provide for the critique of bad and irrelevant practice in teaching. So much of what is done in staff development and in teaching practices in general may be intuitively satisfying but empirically bankrupt. Many educators are not challenged to critique teaching to the point where they can identify, critique, and analyze bad practice or irrelevant practice in teaching. As a result, the teaching and learning environment (regular practice and staff development) is often loaded down with gimmicks and fads that have no prospect of doing anything more than absorbing enormous resources without commensurate benefits in teaching and learning.

Networking in the Professional Community

An appropriate teacher education program should require that the intern participate in and build a network among interns and educators who are successful. If teaching is a profession, then it is the obligation of teachers to participate in a professional dialogue that is valid and meaningful. This dialogue may be conducted through professional organizations, through informal study groups, staff development activities, or university-sponsored professional activities. Every teacher is obligated to be a part of a dialogue among successful educators, especially successful educators of African American children.

SUMMARY

Many educators, including teacher educators, have come to doubt the learning capacities of and the efficacy of teaching African people. Many have also come to see African people as if their conditions—social, economic, and political—*are* their identity, leaving aside any cultural or ethnic identity. Many educators have come to view schools as neutral places that offer an equivalent quality of instruction to all students, thereby denying or ignoring the savage inequalities (Kozol, 1991) in the provision of services that are so prevalent. These misreadings of the teaching and learning context and of the participants in the process (i.e., ignoring inequitable treatment) are at the root of the poor design of teacher education.

The culture of Africa still has lessons to teach.

The cycle of school failure for traditionally excluded students can be broken simply by looking closely at teachers and teacher educators who do not fail and then by imitating them. Having overcome failure on traditional school objectives, we can then turn our attention to those things that nurture and enhance the highest human possibilities for mind, body, and spirit. The culture of Africa still has lessons to teach. The university can ill-afford to ignore these lessons. The culturally chauvinistic university can. There can be no valid university if it ignores the African experience.

CONCLUSION

Many of the things mentioned in this chapter, written from the point of view of an African American teacher educator, will apply to teacher education in general, not only to teacher education for the African American child. However, by discussing this matter with specific reference to the African American child, we easily can illuminate some of the substantial weaknesses in the teacher education process in general.

Every student is a part of a cultural ethnic tradition. In addition, all students exist in a political and economic environment, which, for the African student, has included various practices of White supremacy, conscious and unconscious, intentional and unintentional. A teacher education process that ignores these two realities is doomed from the start.

There have always been ordinary people who knew how to teach African children (and any other ethnic and socioeconomic groups) so they achieved excellence. These teachers were not magicians (Hilliard, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 1994). We must not mystify a straightforward process. Professional teacher education programs that are constructed on the assumption that we have a discovery problem of how to teach African children or that some superhuman effort is required are a part of the problem, not a part of the solution.

"Regular" and "special" teacher education must be value added. Trained teachers must be better at producing excellent achievement on the whole than those who are not trained. Otherwise, there is no need for teacher training. There are many examples of value-added teacher education (Backler & Eakin, 1993; Hilliard, 1991; Sizemore, Brosard & Harrigan, 1982).

I have taught students, old and young; special education, regular education and "gifted;" all races and many different language groups; all socioeconomic levels, in Africa, Europe, North and South America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific Islands. I have always felt that any student assigned to me became my responsibility. I never looked for excuses to explain why students did not achieve. When my students' achievement levels were too low, I could usually discover what I had done wrong, what I had not done, and what I needed to do to make all students successful.

In a nation that has been a home for apartheid, hosted a variety of White supremacy ideologies (and still does), tolerated the idea that the poor of all racial and ethnic groups are unable to succeed, and is yet lukewarm at best on its commitment to ensure that every child does succeed, it is important to learn from a variety of perspectives about educational excellence. The African perspective is but one.

But for African people, still reeling under the blows of neo-colonization, resurgent antidemocratic ideologies (D'Souza, 1995; Montagu, 1980; Murray & Herrnstein, 1994), we cannot wait for a more humane pedagogy to evolve. We must produce and assert it. We must draw from the wellspring of our traditions and from all successful traditions. We must change the world.

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Caring for the Whole Child: Asian Pacific American Students

Valerie Ooka Pang

INTRODUCTION

I am writing this chapter in the hopes that educators will better understand how to serve the 3 million Asian Pacific American (APA) students in our schools today (Ong & Hee, 1993). I believe APA students are often overlooked or misunderstood in schools. Many teachers do not feel pressured to attend to the needs of APA children since they are not discipline problems and do not seem to need special attention; however, many students may feel invisible and forgotten. Many APA students are seen and never heard. It happens in the classrooms of the best teachers and in classrooms where teachers have little interest in their students.

Many teachers should more fully attend to APA students and educate the whole child. Teachers need to ask students more questions, listen more carefully to what students are saying, and engage students more often in conversation. Some young people may not be able to clearly articulate what they are thinking, but they will provide several clues to teachers in their responses and teachers then need to follow up on those responses.

WHAT DO TEACHERS NEED TO KNOW ABOUT ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CHILDREN TO BE EFFECTIVE?

This chapter will attempt to address aspects of this question; however, it is important to explain that this question is somewhat ambiguous. The question assumes that the APA community is one cultural group. Like African Americans, European Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, Asian Pacific Americans are a diverse community. They include but are not limited to Asian Indian, Bangladeshi, Burmese, Cambodian, Chamorro, Chinese, Filipino, Fijian, Hawaiian, Hmong, Indonesian, Japanese, Javanese, Korean, Laotian, Marshallese, Malaysian, Melanesian, Mien, Okinawan, Pakistani, Palaun, Samoan, Singaporean, Sri Lankan, Tahitian, Thai, Tibetan, Tongan, and Vietnamese (Gardner, Robey, & Smith, 1985). Asian Pacific Americans make up the fastestgrowing minority group in the United States (Cheng, 1995; Ong & Hee, 1993). These numbers represent an increase of 145 percent from 1980 to 1990. In fact, Ong and Hee estimate that the APA population in 2020 will number about 20 million and will include over 6 million young people under the age of 25.

The growth in population has been, in part, due to the large increase in immigration from Asian countries since 1965 when the Hart-Cellar Act eliminated the national origins quota system (Hodgkinson & Obarakpor, 1994). In 1965, only 16,000 Asians immigrated to the United States, while in 1989 more than 250,000 Asians entered this country (Hodgkinson & Obarakpor, 1994).

The diversity of the group is overwhelming and I believe it is important to explain that though I see some general patterns within Asian Pacific Americans as one community, teachers need to realize that there are large differences within the group and individual variations. The purpose of this chapter is to encourage teachers to look beyond the physical exterior of a child and get to know each student as a person. I understand that teachers who may not have had the opportunity to get to know Asian Pacific Americans and may be searching for "road signs" to help direct them. I caution the reader that these are only signs and that each child will create her or his own path.

TEACHERS OFTEN SAY, "I DON'T HAVE A CULTURE!"

In recent years, the issue of culture has taken on an important role in teaching. Teachers attend conferences on cultural and linguistic diversity. Many teacher certification programs require at least one course in multicultural education. However, I think there is a great deal of misconception about the concept of culture. Teachers often ask, "What is culture? What does it really have to do with learning?"

I believe it is difficult to explain what culture is and how it operates in schools and life in general. Culture is a system of shared and common values that shapes one's worldview; culture includes customs, habits, rituals, interpersonal relationships, religion, symbols, institutions, laws, language, philosophy, history, arts, artifacts, and traditions (Trueba, Cheng, & Ima, 1993). Many mainstream teachers say, "I don't have a culture." What they are really saying is, "I don't know how to *identify* my culture."

All teachers have a culture; however, it is sometimes difficult for them to identify clearly their culture because it surrounds them everyday and may be a composite of several cultural groups. I believe it is sometimes easier for students from underrepresented groups like Korean

Americans, Vietnamese Americans, and Filipino Americans to understand how their culture is different from the mainstream because they may come into conflict with or see contrasts between their home culture and the macroculture.

For many teachers, mainstream culture is like the air; it is always there and permeates all aspects of their lives. This adds to their confusion. Just as it is hard to describe air, it may be difficult to identify mainstream culture unless they go to another country. Then they will see how their expectations, language, behaviors, institutions, and symbols differ from the country they are visiting.

Educating the Whole Child

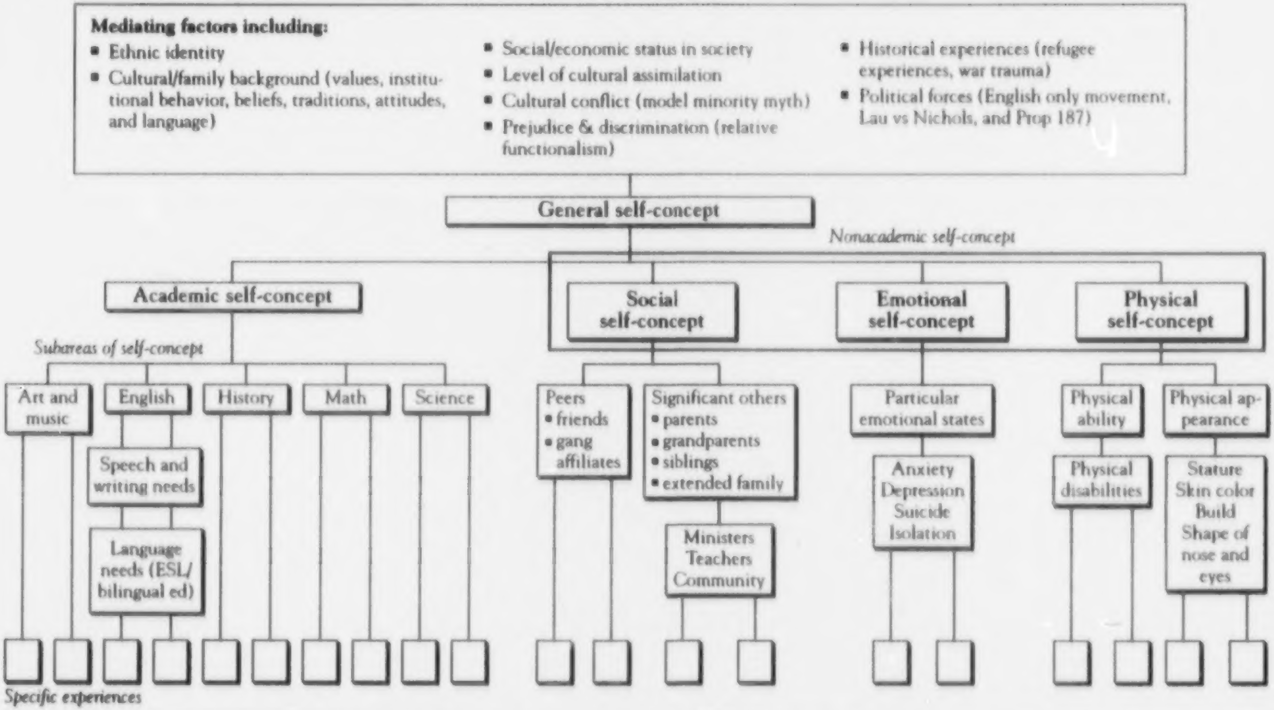
Many teachers have tunnel vision when viewing APA students. They see well-adjusted, model students who present few problems to teachers. Like many stereotypes, this perception needs to be carefully examined. Teachers may be aware that some students should be placed in English as a second language (ESL) programs; however, their other needs may not be readily apparent. It is easier to identify problems of language proficiency, but it is much more difficult to assess cultural conflict and the mental health of students.

Teachers need to attend to educating the whole child.

Teachers need to attend to educating the whole child. This is crucial in APA students because teachers and parents tend to focus upon math and science areas without attention to providing for the entire child. Figure 1 is a conceptual model of the development of a child's self-concept. The model is based upon the work of Shavelson, Huber, and Stanton (1976). Their research defines self-concept as "a person's perception of himself [herself]. These perceptions are formed through his [her] experiences with his [her] environment . . . and are influenced especially by environmental reinforcements and significant others" (Shavelson, Huber, and Stanton, 1976, p. 411). A person's perceptions of him or herself influence the way the person acts, thinks, and evaluates him or herself.

Using a large body of research on the issue of self-concept, Shavelson, Huber, and Stanton (1976) created a self-concept construct that is organized, multifaceted, hierarchical, stable, developmental, evaluative, and differentiable. Their construct divided the self-concept into the academic and nonacademic. The academic self-concept includes the sub-areas of English, history, math, and science. The nonacademic self-concept

FIGURE 1. **Self-Concept Development**


Mediating factors including:
Ethnic identity
Cultural/family background (values, institutional behavior, beliefs, traditions, attitudes, and language)
Social/economic status in society
Level of cultural assimilation
Cultural conflict (model minority myth)
Prejudice & discrimination (relative functionalism)
Historical experiences (refugee experiences, war trauma)
Political forces (English only movement, Lau vs Nichols, and Prop 187)
General self-concept
Nonacademic self-concept
Academic self-concept
Social self-concept
Emotional self-concept
Physical self-concept
Subareas of self-concept
Art and music
English
History
Math
Science
Speech and writing needs
Language needs (ESL/ bilingual ed)
Peers
• friends
• gang affiliates
Significant others
• parents
• grandparents
• siblings
• extended family
Ministers
Teachers
Community
Particular emotional states
Anxiety
Depression
Suicide
Isolation
Physical ability
Physical disabilities
Physical appearance
Stature
Skin color
Build
Shape of nose and eyes
Specific experiences

Adapted from Shavelson et al. (1976) by V. O. Pang

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includes the social (peers and significant others), the emotional (particular emotional states), and the physical (physical ability and physical appearance).

How can this construct help teachers and parents to better understand Asian Pacific American (APA) students? At the top of the model is a list of mediating factors that affect the developing self-concept of young people. Those factors may include ethnic identity, cultural or family background (values, behaviors, beliefs, traditions, attitudes, and language), social economic status in society, levels of cultural assimilation, cultural conflict (e.g., the model minority myth which perpetuates the myth that APA students are high-achieving students who have few academic problems), and historical experiences (e.g., war trauma, internment of Japanese Americans, labor movement). Children grow in a sociocultural context and these elements may be important in shaping who they believe they are.

Some teachers and many APA parents consider the development of cognitive faculties to be the most important aspect of personal growth. However, educators may not be considering the entire spectrum of the developing self. For example in the area of academic skills, teachers and parents often channel APA students into math and science classes. They tend to direct students toward technical careers in engineering, biology, mathematics, and computer science. Unfortunately, students who may have interests in the arts, creative writing, history, journalism, politics, and many other fields may not have the opportunity to explore these areas because teachers may encourage students to take more math and science classes instead of a broader range of subjects.

Teachers should consider not only the academic self-concepts of students but also their social, emotional, and physical self-concepts.

To encourage a well-rounded person, APA students will need school programs that nourish participation in many kinds of activities. For example, parents may not agree with physical education, seeing it as a frivolous waste of valuable class time, but teachers can explain the benefits of physical discipline and keeping fit. The model also focuses attention upon how significant others affect the sense of self. The approval of parents, teachers, siblings, and peers can be extremely important to many APA children. It may be helpful to educators to know that many students may be extremely sensitive to criticism from teachers and peers. Teachers should consider not only the academic self-concepts of students but also their social, emotional, and physical self-concepts.

THE MODEL MINORITY MYTH

One of the social factors which has had a major impact on the concept of the developing self-concept is the model minority myth. Research on the academic achievement of APA students has typically indicated high levels of scholarship, and the popular press often labels students as "whiz kids" (*Time*, 1987). Unfortunately, this portrayal does not accurately reflect the actual achievement levels found across the many groups that form this community. The Admissions Testing Program of the College Board collected data for 5 years (1980–1985) on college-bound seniors (Ramist & Arbeiter, 1986) and found data that refute the model minority myth. The 1985 sample included the responses of 1,052,351 high school seniors. Among them were 42,637 Asian Pacific American students, or 4 percent of all respondents, which was almost a 50 percent increase from the beginning of the study in 1980. The sample represented a broad spectrum of Asian communities.

On the Scholastic Achievement Test (SAT) in 1985, the Asian Pacific American verbal mean score of 404 was below the national average of 431, but the mathematics mean of 518 was above the nation average of 475. Of the APA high school seniors who indicated that English was not their best language, the SAT verbal median scores was a low 272; the median for other Asians, who reported English as being their best language, was 434, still lower than the mean of 449 for White American students. Large number of immigrants have migrated to the United States since the 1970s, and many of these families have home languages other than English, which may account for some of the findings. However, even those Asian students who reported English as their best language did not score as highly as their White counterparts.

Generally, APA students have indicated that they would like to be able to express themselves more effectively. Ramist and Arbeiter (1986) found 73 percent rated themselves high on mathematics ability, although only 56 percent rated themselves highly on oral expression. APA students seem to have "communication anxiety"—they not only feel the inability to do well but also reveal a fear of writing and speaking. Such apprehension may attract them into more technical and scientific fields of study.

The pattern of high scores in mathematics and lower scores in language has also been found in grades 7–12 in the San Diego (CA)

Unified School District. Using 1989–1990 school district data, Cheng, Ima, and Labovitz (1994) found Anglos to have the highest mean on the reading portion of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), with a score of 63.4; in comparison, Southeast Asians had a mean of 33.2, Latinos had a mean of 37.5, African Americans had a mean of 39.9, and Pacific Islanders had a mean of 40.2. The same pattern was seen in the language section of the test: Anglos had a mean of 66.9, Southeast Asians had a mean of 48.7, Latinos had a mean of 46.0, African Americans had 46.7, and Pacific Islanders had a mean of 52.5. The gap between Southeast Asians and Anglos was much less on the mathematics portion of the CTBS. Southeast Asians had a mean of 66.8 and Pacific Islanders had a mean of 56.8, while Anglos had a mean of 71.1.

Fields like mathematics, chemistry, and computer science deal mainly with abstract objective ideas. Though students may need to explain how they found their answers, most answers are explained through logical thinking. Many answers are given using mathematical symbols. In contrast, fields like English, creative writing, and speech demand that students express their personal feelings and ideas. These ideas are not necessarily tied to an objective field or abstract line of reasoning. Communication anxiety may appear when APA students must risk more of themselves by sharing ideas that are emotional and personal in content. If many APA students come from families where discussion of personal feelings is limited, it may be extremely difficult to place one's beliefs in the open where others can criticize and disagree with them. Since Asians in many families are taught to keep their feelings private (Cheng, 1995; Kitano, 1976; Pan Asian, 1980), activities like writing poetry or creating stories may be worrisome and elicit anxiety. In addition, students must have strong self-concepts to be able to share their ideas and emotions publicly. Though students may have academic self-concepts, they may not be confident in other areas of life dealing with peers, parents, physical characteristics, and emotional situations (Pang, 1995).

In addition, APA students must also cope with the stresses of racism and the existence of conflicting cultural messages communicated about the model minority myth (Pang, 1995; Pang, Colvin, Tran, & Barba, 1992; *Time*, 1987). The model minority myth is often accompanied by the belief that APA students are the students who raise the grade curve at the detriment of others. They are not usually the basketball stars or homecoming royalty, and they may be seen more as "nerds." It is not always an asset to stand out academically and be considered an "egghead." Students who do well must deal with the mixed messages of the model minority image.

The APA students who do not do well must also cope with the model minority myth. There are APA students who are not intellectually gifted and are unable to reach high academic standards that parents or teachers have set for them (Pang, 1995). Those students may have difficulty dealing with negative feelings of being a "loser." It is not unusual for younger siblings to hear comments from parents and teachers about older brothers and sisters, such as, "Why aren't you getting straight A's like your older brother?" The model minority image can be difficult to deal with for students who may not be academically inclined, especially when teachers assume that students from certain Asian Pacific American groups will be top achievers. These students are trying to deal with the powerful process of assimilation, and mixed messages regarding their acceptance into mainstream society can be a heavy burden to carry.

As in any stereotype, there exists a kernel of truth. There are proportionately more APA students who do well in school than those from other groups. Though a comprehensive discussion of the phenomenon would be lengthy, I would like to present the views of Sue and Okazaki (1990) and Suzuki (1977). Sue and Okazaki have hypothesized that the success of many Asian Pacific Americans can be explained by the concept of relative functionalism. They found Asian Pacific Americans exceed the graduation rate from colleges and universities of any other group, including Whites. Sue and Okazaki emphasized that the APA population stresses education and the attainment of baccalaureate and advanced degrees.

In examining the issue of academic success, Sue and Okazaki noted that though many scholars believed Asian Pacific Americans were situated in higher income levels and had more financial resources to use for schooling, their research disputed this claim. In fact the median incomes of APA parents was much lower than their White peers (Sue & Okazaki, 1990, p. 914).

One of the most popular explanations for educational achievement focuses upon cultural values (Caudill & De Vos, 1956; Kitano, 1976; Mordkowitz & Ginsburg, 1987; Sue & Kitano, 1973; Sue & Okazaki, 1990). Scholars have hypothesized that the cultural values of Asians toward education, expectations to succeed, high affiliation needs, use of guilt and shame, and family obligations have socialized young Asians to do well in school. These values are compatible with middle-class mainstream values. Sue and Okazaki contended that few rigorous studies have been conducted to support this cultural interpretation of success. Research linking parenting styles and cultural values with academic achievement has been sparse.

Sue and Okazaki did not believe academic achievement could be solely explained by Asian cultural values. Though their achievements may be in part explained by ethnic values, they also hypothesized that the status of Asian Pacific Americans as a minority group has affected educational attainment. The researchers believed that education is functionally one of the few avenues available to Asians to succeed. The more obstacles present seemed to further emphasize the importance of education in upward mobility.

Looking at the phenomenon somewhat differently, Suzuki (1977) argued that Asian Pacific Americans pursued education because of the discrimination they faced in employment. In addition, Suzuki found although Asian Pacific Americans are in lower-level white collar positions, they have yet to move upward into corporate positions, which have greater authority and decision-making responsibility. He also discovered that the higher levels of family income in the Asian Pacific American community was due to multiple family members working. Therefore, Suzuki found that the level of educational attainment did not correlate with incomes; rather, Asian Pacific Americans became frustrated with the inability to secure positions that had more responsibility and higher incomes. Suzuki did agree with Sue and Okazaki that because of historical discrimination and the marginal place in which Asians found themselves, they taught their children to aspire to white-collar professions.

The myth of the model minority contains the image that Asian Pacific Americans have secured high-level technical positions and so they have little financial problems. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Toji and Johnson (1992) report that in 1980 there were 334,000 Asian Pacific Americans living in poverty. The overall rate of APA poverty of 13 percent is slightly higher than the 12 percent for the general U.S. population, though families like Cambodian (46.9 percent), Hawaiian (14.3 percent), Hmong (65.5 percent), Indonesian (15.2 percent), Laotian (67.2 percent), Samoan (27.5 percent), and Vietnamese (35.1 percent) have much higher levels of poverty than White families (7 percent), and some are higher than for Blacks (26.5 percent). In 1990, 12 percent of Asian Pacific Americans lived in poverty, of which 44 percent were children under 18 years old, compared to 37 percent of Whites under 18 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). The poverty rates reflect high levels of unemployment or employment in low-wage jobs. Many of those living in poverty are working. In 1980, the rates of unemployed Southeast Asians were higher than those for Blacks and Latinos (Toji & Johnson, 1992).

The model minority myth is a large concept that indicates numerous ideas. Students are seen not only as high achieving but also as coming from middle-class families. In addition, the myth also indicates to some that Asian Pacific Americans are successful in securing prosperous positions in the workforce. Poverty rates, test scores, and career ceilings demonstrate that this is not a true picture. Many Asian Pacific Americans are wage and salary workers and have difficulties surviving economically. The model minority myth glosses over the struggles and realities of Asian Pacific Americans.

MENTAL HEALTH NEEDS

In contrast to the model minority myth, many teachers and parents are unaware of the continuing mental health needs of APA students. When teachers believe students are well adjusted and high achieving, they may not look beyond cognitive abilities to mental health needs of students. Asian Pacific American students are visibly different, which can have a powerful effect on the fragile and developing self-image of children. Tidwell (1980) found APA youth to show a disturbing pattern of lower levels of self-esteem in comparison to Caucasian and African American youth. Another study reported Vietnamese American students scored lowest on the overall self-concept in relation to other non-Vietnamese American, Caucasian, African American, and Mexican American students (Oanh & Michael, 1977). Monzon (1984) found Filipino American college students also demonstrate lower levels of general self-esteem than their White peers. Similarly, Korean American and Chinese American students were not as positive about their physical self-image as African American or White American students (Chang, 1975; Fox & Jordan, 1973). In another study of the general self-concept of Japanese American students in the fourth through sixth grades, lower physical self-concept scores were offset by high academic self-image scores, making the general scores less than revealing (Pang, Mizokawa, Morishima, & Olstad, 1985). These findings may be surprising to educators who believe that Asian Pacific Americans are well-adjusted, competent students. Such studies point to the importance for schools to take steps to help Asian Pacific Americans students develop more positive perceptions of themselves.

In line with the research on self-concept, there has been some study of anxiety. The importance of parental support of Asian Pacific American families cannot be overestimated. For example, Pang (1991) found that the parental support felt by middle school students of Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and East Indian heritages were predictive of mathematics grades. However, these students were also more test anxious than their White American counterparts because of their desire to please their parents. The side effect of high parental expectations and need for approval may be test and achievement anxiety. The quest for approval through doing well in school may become internalized, though children are typically unaware of the process. Besides, it may be the support felt by APA children that helps them to diffuse, to an extent, the pressure of high parental academic expectations.

Another mental health area of concern is adolescent suicide. Students who are dealing with the pressures from society to assimilate while parents are demanding that they maintain traditional cultural values may feel severe cultural conflict. Asian Pacific American students may become so overwhelmed that they contemplate suicide. In the article "You're Not Alone," Irene Tayag, a Filipina, wrote:

> The first time I thought about suicide was when I was about 13 years of age. I don't even think I knew the word "suicide" existed. All I knew was that I wasn't happy with my life and I didn't want to "be around anymore." To say I wanted to die is a bit harsh because I didn't really want to die. I just wanted to be away from all the pain I felt about my life. It's hard to pinpoint when it all began or why I was in so much pain. I just was, and not being able to explain it only added to my confusion and feelings of helplessness. I felt alone and ashamed that I could feel this way about my life, especially when on the surface it appeared that I had a lot to be thankful for. . . .
>
> Sure, on the surface, I was the "A" student whose life was so put together, but I was scared to let people see my true feelings. . . .
>
> I internalized everything, and the only way I knew how to bring it to the surface was through self-mutilation. It was easier to explain the pain from a cut on my wrist or a few bruises on my knuckles than it was to explain that my heart was broken. (June, 1995, p. 2)

Unfortunately, Irene's thoughts exemplify the frustration, depression, and confusion of many other Filipino American students.

The results of a survey conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention point to the need for more attention to mental health needs in Filipino American students (Lau, 1995). In 1993, a random sample of 1,788 high school students was given a survey in the San Diego Unified School District. More Filipino American girls, 45.6 percent, indicated that they had seriously considered attempting suicide within the past 12 months of the survey than any other group, compared to 33.4 percent of the Hispanic females, 26.2 percent White females, and 25.3 percent Black females (Lau, 1995). In addition, 39.2 percent of the Filipino females had made a plan about how they would attempt suicide and 23.3 percent had actually attempted suicide. Their numbers were higher than any other group. The Medical Examiner's Office in San Diego reported that six Filipino American males under 19 years of age have committed suicide in the past 5 years in comparison to one Filipino female during the same time period (Lau, 1995). The problem is serious and complicated. Though more females indicate they think about suicide and have attempted suicide, more males have succeeded.

Society does not support the development of a healthy identity as a Filipino American.

Table 1 provides selected information regarding the findings of this survey. The results of the survey shocked the Filipino American community in San Diego, but for many Filipino counselors the findings reinforced their beliefs. Filipino youth are dealing with cultural conflict and social pressure to assimilate. Parents are working two or three jobs to provide a middle-class living for their children. They may not be home to direct and guide their children. In addition, many Filipino parents are in survival mode and may come to the United States with the immigrant mentality of scarcity (Villa, 1995). They may believe it is important for them to work as hard as possible because opportunities may not be available in the future.

Parents are only one possible source of conflict; society does not support the development of a healthy identity as a Filipino American. For example, in San Diego County there are 22,347 Filipino students, yet only 180 Filipino American teachers are employed by the many school districts in the area. Students benefit from role models who understand their points of view and the struggles they are coping with. Filipino American students often indicate that they feel marginalized in American society (Villa, 1995). One way they feel their lives have been marginalized is in the history books. Filipinos have lived in what is now the continental United States since 1763 (Cordova, 1983), but few Filipinos or others know this fact. Students ask, "How come I don't see myself in the history books? Don't I count? Don't I exist?"

Asian Pacific American students have serious mental health needs and they should not be ignored. The research on APA students points to the need to hire additional APA teachers and counselors. Students need opportunities to talk with counselors and teachers without having to go

TABLE 1
Thoughts of Suicide in High School Students

Percentage of high school students who seriously considered attempting suicide within the 12 months preceding the survey:

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
White	22.7	19.1	26.2
Black	24.9	23.7	25.3
Hispanic	27.5	21.4	33.4
Filipino	37.8	29.4	45.6
Asian	20.1	6.4	24.1

Percentage of high school students who made a plan in the preceding 12 months about how they would attempt suicide:

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
White	19.1	16.5	21.8
Black	25.9	23.1	28.1
Hispanic	20.8	15.8	25.6
Filipino	32.5	25.1	39.2
Asian	18.2	15.7	20.9

Percentage of high school students who actually attempted suicide one or more times in the preceding 12 months:

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
White	7.0	5.7	8.3
Black	6.9	6.2	7.7
Hispanic	12.1	6.0	17.8
Filipino	17.8	11.9	23.3
Asian	8.3	6.4	10.2

From "Teen and Suicide," by A. Lau, February 11, 1995, *San Diego Union-Tribune*, p. A-19.

into a lengthy discussion of cultural values because the counselors will already understand them. In addition, funding is needed for peer-support groups that allow students to talk with each other. Many students feel they cannot talk with their parents because their actions would bring shame and dishonor to the family (Lau, 1995; Monzon, 1984). Though students may have high grades and the behaviors of high achievers, these behaviors may mask the internal confusion of APA students. To educate and care for the whole child, teachers must also know the mental health issues students are confronted with.

"I WANT TO TRUST THE TEACHER, BUT SHE . . . "

For many APA students, teachers represent a position of trust, but when instances of prejudice and discrimination are not dealt with immediately or fairly in schools, students may feel betrayed. Many APA children come from an authoritarian-style family where teachers are seen as part of the social hierarchy (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Kitano, 1976; Sue & Sue, 1973). In many APA communities, trust is bestowed on the position so teachers do not have to earn respect; however, Au and Jordan (1981) found Hawaiian students to expect their teachers to earn their respect and trust. Teachers may not understand they are given great responsibility to protect and nurture children place. Unfortunately, there are instances where teachers and other educational personnel may have underlying prejudices about Asians that may surface, leaving students disillusioned and extremely disappointed.

The following is an actual experience of a Vietnamese American student who became disillusioned with teachers, administrators, and other school personnel.

> Growing up as a Vietnamese teenager, I lived in south Houston where many Vietnamese are living the life as gangsters, thieves, drug dealers, and high school dropouts. . . .
>
> I remember one hot summer afternoon in 1989. I was sitting on a bench in front the Central Middle School doing my homework for summer school. Suddenly, the security guard came and grabbed my hand. He told me to come to the principal's office with him. At the moment, I was lost because I didn't know what was going on. As I followed his request and walked with him to the office, I was scared and embarrassed. My mind was totally blank, and I was unable to say a word. I wasn't able to remember anything that the security guard said to me, but I remembered one thing very well, which is many students looked at me as a bad character. Just because I was a Vietnamese teen, they suspected that I was a bad kid who stole other students' bikes.
>
> As Mr. L, the principal, asked me about the stolen bike, which I had no idea about, a custodian said, "I saw this Vietnamese kid steal the bike." I was shocked. It was my word against a respected adult's word. That was the first time I ever heard an adult who was blindly prejudiced. At that moment, my mind was like a white sheet of paper that was destroyed by a drop of black ink.

> Still, the principal kept asking me about the bike. I kept answering "No" without any reason due to my lack of English. They kept me in the office for hours. Later in the afternoon, they let me go without explanation. I didn't know why they let me go. It could have been because they found the bike, or they just found another Vietnamese boy who happened to be at the place.
>
> On the way back to my class many students insulted me. Mentally, I was hurt and embarrassed. I didn't know how to deal with the situation. I ran straight home with a plan never to come back to that place again. I was absent from school for about four weeks. During those four weeks, I stayed inside my home without stepping outside to avoid embarrassment. Even though I was absent for four weeks, nobody noticed my absence.
>
> That blindness incident was like a scar in my mind that never heals. I try to forget it, but I couldn't. Today, I still remember exactly the conversation between the security [guard] and the custodian as I stepped out of the principal's office. Only two sentences almost destroyed my trust in people and the educational system. "I don't blame you. They all look alike," said the security guard. (Truong, 1995)

Truong wants to be a teacher one day and is working toward his teaching certificate in hopes of making sure that another student does not find him or herself in the same situation he did. Unfortunately, the custodian, principal, and teachers did not take the time to listen to him. Not only was Truong embarrassed by the incident, he also came to distrust his teachers.

Since Vietnamese Americans have strong ties to others, Truong found it humiliating to have others believe that he was a troublemaker. In this way Truong lost face with his peers when the principal called him into his office and accused Truong of stealing the bicycle. Unfortunately, since the principal did not follow up on the student's 4-week absence, Truong had no way to save face. He felt ashamed and embarrassed even though he was not at fault. This was also evident because Truong did not even go outside of his home because he was humiliated.

In addition, since the principal, security guard, and teachers did not follow up on his absence, Truong became disillusioned with the school faculty. Though he had trusted them and had gone to school holding great respect for school personnel, since he was accused of stealing without any evidence, he was devastated. Unfortunately, it took one of his teachers 4 weeks to inquire about his absence from school. Only his ESL teacher showed concern for him and called him to come back to school. The prejudice and unconcern for Truong caused him a great deal of insecurity and hurt. Students do not learn as much from people they do not trust or those who do not accept them.

Prejudice also comes from students. To understand the experiences of Southeast Asian Pacific American students in San Diego city schools the district surveyed 521 junior high students and found strong resentment against Southeast Asian Pacific American youth (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). Approximately 30 percent of the nonrefugee students made disturbing remarks such as, "Get rid of the Cambodians"; "I think the Blacks and Whites get along great but it's the Vietnamese we can't stand"; "Move some Nips to other schools" (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 59). The bigotry against Asian Pacific Americans has resulted in the death of students. In 1987 in Lowell, Massachusetts, during a period of community unrest surrounding busing and anti-immigration sentiment, an 11-year-old White male student beat up Vandy Phorng, a 13-year-old Cambodian student. Phorng was pushed into a canal, where he drowned (Kiang, 1990). The violence against APA students is a shocking expression of the prejudice that exists in U.S. society.

Southeast Asian American students provided recommendations on how to improve cross-cultural relationships (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). They requested teachers and school staff to do something about the name calling that often escalated into physical violence between Vietnamese and nonrefugee students. Cambodian American students were greatly offended by derogatory remarks that abusers considered casual statements. In addition, some students felt that some teachers were biased against them, making negative statements about Vietnam or giving them unfair punishments. These experiences greatly influenced the development of their ethnic identity and caused students to withdraw from the school community or fight back, verbally and physically, when they felt teachers did not do anything about the prejudice and discrimination in schools.

IS WHAT YOU SEE WHAT YOU THINK YOU SEE?

I believe that APA children are often misunderstood because teachers misinterpret their behaviors. APA children may sit quietly even if they are bored in deference to teachers and their teachers' authority. When students seem to be shy, quiet, obedient, and do not volunteer to answer, teachers may categorize APA students as passive, weak, or uninterested in school.

In reality, many APA students are not shy or quiet; rather, they may feel it is important to show respect to the teacher and maintain harmony in the classroom (Tran, in press). I have visited classrooms where teachers are tending to disruptive students while APA students are energetically raising their hands for assistance. Though teachers may see their raised hands, APA children often are not verbally attempting to get the attention of their teachers so teachers may give more attention to the disruptive or verbally aggressive student. After a few minutes, when APA students cannot get the attention of the teacher, their arms lower and the waving stops. Students then turn to their peers who are sitting nearby for help.

Some teachers then assume that the APA students who lowered their hands do not need tutoring and begin to believe that these students can answer their own questions. Unfortunately, APA students may be disappointed that their teachers did not spend time with them; however, in honor of their teachers and to maintain a harmonious climate, students will not confront their teachers.

The example given above demonstrates cultural differences between what teachers believe and what students think. In anthropology, this is called the difference between "etics," cultural-general concepts, and "emics," cultural specifics (Brislin, 1993). Although these terms arise from linguistics, etics and emics can be explained as common experiences in contrast to insider viewpoints. I believe teachers may misinterpret what is actually happening. For example, the common experience or etic is that children go to school to learn; however, emics are how children are socialized to behave in school. In the United States most children are expected to be vocal in expressing their needs to the teacher, otherwise there is an underlying assumption that the teacher will not know what students need or are feeling if they do not "speak up." Yet many APA children have been taught not to call attention to themselves or to stand out in the group. They should not bother the teacher; rather, they should work to solve their problems, whether they are academic or personal, on their own.

Erickson (1990) explains that local meanings may differ in subgroups. He has carefully outlined how the interpretation of actions in one group may be distinctly different from another group. Their local meanings will vary. Looking at within-group differences, teachers may find that the generation level in the United States may add a new dimension to how APA children think and behave. For example, many Japanese American and Chinese American students are third-, fourth-, or even fifth-generation American. As parents become bicultural, they may socialize their children to include more values and behaviors of the mainstream culture. The local meaning (Erickson, 1990) of speaking out has gradually shifted for offspring of many American born Asian Pacific Americans. Those who are third- or fourth-generation American may be more vocal and willing to answer questions in front of the class and demand more attention from teachers, while first-generation APA students may believe it is respectful not to talk in class and bring attention to themselves.

For many APA children, the most crucial aspect of their lives is family, family, family.

WHAT VALUES DIRECT ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS?

When buying a home, one of the rules of thumb is location, location, location. For many APA children, the most crucial aspect of their lives is family, family, family. Just as it is in many other communities, the family shapes the child's worldview. In trying to explain the importance of the family, Table 2 provides a list of traditional cultural values for various Asian Pacific American communities. These are trends and not absolutes. Before reviewing the list, I caution that there is no person who will adhere to all the values in a cultural group. Rather, these values are values of an ideal traditional person in that particular community.

In understanding how Asian Pacific Americans may differ within their ethnic groups, I refer to an article by Sue and Sue (1973) that described a way of viewing Chinese American personality. Their model looked at three different personalities: (1) the traditionalist; (2) the marginal person; and (3) the Asian American. Depending on many variables like generation, language proficiencies, acculturation levels, age, social class, gender, and other personal experiences, individuals will fall into one of these three categories.

The marginal person rejects his or her cultural group and takes on Western values. The person may desire to cut all ties with the Asian Pacific American community and rejects traditional ways and takes on mainstream values and behaviors. This person may find self-esteem from acceptance in the European American community.

The traditionalist is the individual who follows more of the traditional values listed in Table 1 than either the marginal person or Asian American. This person will have strong ties to his or her culture and family. The family is at the center of relationships and the self is someone who has learned to subordinate personal needs to family harmony (Fong & Mokuau, 1994). The traditionalist may experience great cultural conflict when traditional values are directly opposed to mainstream values.

The Asian American is someone who usually has gone through painful introspection. This person may have been able to create a bicultural identity and though is not unquestionably deferent or obedient to his or her parents, cultural values like education and hard work are part

TABLE 2
Key Aspects and Trends in Traditional Values of Selected Asian Pacific American Communities

CAMBODIAN AMERICANS:

People are called Khmer.

1975–Refugees flee to the United States and other countries when Pol Pot leads the Khmer Rouge to take over the country and there are massive massacres of the people.

Culture is rooted in several belief systems: Khmer, East Indian, French cultural traditions, and the religions of Theravada Buddhism and Brahmanism (Chhim, 1989).

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values—

Many are Buddhists (Pan Asian, 1980).

Most important social unit is the nuclear family, which sometimes includes other generations (Chhim, 1989; Pan Asian, 1980).

Status in the community is important (Chhim, 1989; Pan Asian, 1980).

Filial piety, respect for parents and elders (Chhim, 1989; Pan Asian, 1980).

Respect for authority (Pan Asian, 1980).

Authoritarian parenting (Chhim, 1989).

Value intelligence and education (Chhim, 1989; Pan Asian, 1980).

Cooperative and not competitive or aggressive (Pan Asian, 1980).

Family good is more important than personal needs (Pan Asian, 1980).

Pattern of rank and class; each person has a role (Chhim, 1989).

Individual merit can place someone in different class (Chhim, 1989).

Resolution of conflict is through explanations and not negotiation (Chhim, 1989).

Personal independence is valued, yet must still uphold his or her obligations and role in society (Chhim, 1989).

Children should be obedient (Chhim, 1989).

CHAMORROS:

Guam is a southern island in the Mariana island chain.

People on Guam are U.S. citizens when the Organic Act of Guam was passed by the U.S. Congress in 1950 (Pan Asian, 1980).

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values—

The extended family is basic social unit (Pan Asian, 1980).

Filial piety, respect for elders (Pan Asian, 1980).

Presence of children is valued (Pan Asian, 1980).

Continued on next page

TABLE 2
Key Aspects and Trends in Traditional Values of Selected Asian Pacific American Communities, *Continued*

Family pride is strong (Pan Asian, 1980).

Traditional gender roles with fathers as heads of households (Pan Asian, 1980).

Sensitive to criticism (Pan Asian, 1980).

Competition between villages (Pan Asian, 1980).

CHINESE AMERICANS:

First Chinese who migrated to the United States from 1820 to 1847 were students who went to Ivy League universities to study.

The first wave of Chinese labors came to the United States from the 1850s until 1882 when all Chinese laborers were barred [AU: because of their race?] from entering the United States.

Diverse group of people comprise the Chinese American populations and have roots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, and Vietnam.

Many Chinese Americans are native born because of their long history in the United States.

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values and Educational Implications—

The extended family is the basic social unit.

Family pride and family honor (Pan Asian, 1980; Sue & Sue, 1973).

Children try to live up to parent expectations (Sue & Sue, 1973).

Family harmony (Pan Asian, 1980).

Filial piety (Pan Asian, 1980; Sue & Sue, 1973).

Traditional families are patriarchal and patrilineal (Pan Asian, 1980).

Educational achievement is more important than other types of achievement (Sue & Sue, 1973; Pan Asian, 1980).

Strong sense of family responsibility (Sue & Sue, 1973).

Hard work is important (Pan Asian, 1980).

Respect for elders is equated with respect for authority (Sue & Sue, 1973).

FILIPINO AMERICANS:

1763: First Asian Pacific Americans settlers in Louisiana bayous jumped from Spanish galleons.

More than 7,000 islands comprise the Philippines, where more than 87 languages are spoken (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Most Filipino American students speak English and many can speak a Filipino language such as Tagalog or Ilocano.

Filipinos represent a wide variety of subcultures due to language, national origins, regions, and values (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995); therefore, it is important to remember their diversity when reading the following list of cultural values.

In San Diego schools, the suicide rates for Filipinas (Filipino American females) were higher than any other ethnic group (Lau, 1995).

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values and Educational Implications—

"Pakikisama": maintain good relationships between family and friends (Pan Asian, 1980).

TABLE 2
Key Aspects and Trends in Traditional Values of Selected Asian Pacific American Communities, *Continued*

(1) Strong sense of obligation; return favors

(2) Power of shame or embarrassment

(3) Criticism may injure one's pride so be careful not to offend others. People may be indirect.

Social acceptance and a sense of belonging is extremely crucial (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994; Pan Asian, 1980).

Personal dignity is important (Pan Asian, 1980).

Friendship is protected by loyalty (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

Both women and men play important roles in family; egalitarian patterns (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994; Pan Asian, 1980).

Family obligations to extended and nuclear family, grandparents may live with son's family (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

The extended family is the primary social unit (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994; Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Children are expected to respect and not challenge parents (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Children are indebted to parents for giving them life (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

Parents place a great emphasis on academic achievement and college degrees (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Students must deal with dichotomy with family interdependence and individualism expected in schools (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Grandparents are respected but may not have authority over family members as is the case in other Asian families (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

The extended family may include fictive relatives brought into the family by friendship or Catholic rituals like baptism or marriage (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

When there is conflict, "go-betweens" may be used to mediate tensions and arguments (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

Children often experience conflict when assimilating Western values of independence, individualism, and assertiveness because they are in conflict with values of harmonious interpersonal relationships, interdependence, and family unity (Agbayani-Siewert, 1994).

JAPANESE AMERICANS:

Most Japanese Americans have long historical roots in the United States, since immigration from Japan was prohibited by the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924. A minimum of immigrants from Asian countries was allowed again with the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952.

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values and Educational Implications—

Hierarchy of social status, know one's place (Caudill, 1952; Kitano, 1976).

Reserved and disciplined behavior favored (Kitano, 1976).

"Enryo": modesty is in part why Japanese Americans may not speak out during meetings and do not talk in a group (Kitano, 1976).

Continued on next page

TABLE 2

Key Aspects and Trends in Traditional Values of Selected Asian Pacific American Communities, *Continued*

Careful not to shame, embarrass, or make a fool of oneself (Caudill, 1952). Children may not ask questions because students do not want to embarrass or trouble the teacher (Kitano, 1976).

Mutual responsibility and dependency in family (Caudill, 1952; Kitano, 1976).

Filial piety, taking care of and respecting parents (Kitano, 1976).

Respect for authority (Fenz & Arkoff, 1962; Kitano, 1976).

Avoid direct confrontation. Parents may suggest rather than demand a specific behavior. For example, a parent may say, "Why don't you put away your Nintendo and study?" (Kitano, 1976).

Compromising is highly approved (Kitano, 1976).

Answers may be vague rather than definitive. Lack of direct answers (Kitano, 1976).

Conformity and obedience (Kitano, 1976).

Hard work and effort is highly valued (Kitano, 1976).

Priority of group rather than individual needs. Team player (Kitano, 1976).

Difficult to make forceful decisions because of dependency (Kitano, 1976).

High affiliation needs (Fenz and Arkoff, 1962; Kitano, 1976).

Personal achievement goals are valued (Caudill, 1962).

Social control through close-knit community. Informal communication through ethnic newspapers, radio stations, and personal conversations (Kitano, 1976).

Japanese American students may have lower physical self-concept but feel confident about their academic self-concept (Pang, Mizokawa, Morishima, & Olstad, 1985).

KOREAN AMERICANS:

Immigration from Korea primarily took place after immigration laws were changed in 1965 (Kim, 1978).

Many have contributed to the development of an ethnic business district, opening car dealerships, appliance stores, and banks that serve the Korean community (Kim, 1980).

Many parents are having difficulty finding higher level positions and so are sometimes underemployed (Kim, 1980).

Trends in Cultural Values and Educational Implications—

Value hard work (Kim, 1978).

Have strong belief in the American dream (Kim, 1980).

Adapt well to new situations (Kim, 1980).

Believe in individualism (Kim, 1980).

Many parents continue to protect cultural traditions and language (Kim, 1980).

Parents hold high expectations and standards for children (Kim, 1980).

Parents often monitor academic achievement of children or actively tutor their young people (Kim, 1980).

Because of parent's difficulty in finding satisfactory positions, parents feel it is important for children to adapt to mainstream society and learn English (Kim, 1980).

TABLE 2
Key Aspects and Trends in Traditional Values of Selected Asian Pacific American Communities, *Continued*

Parents also pressure students to maintain language and cultural traits (Kim, 1980).

Many children have career aspirations that parallel parent wishes (Kim, 1980).

Students may not openly talk about their problems to the teacher (Kim, 1980).

SAMOANS:

American Samoa is a chain of six islands in Polynesia (South Pacific) and are a U.S. territory. Most Samoans live on the island of Tutuila (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Emigrated recently, 1950s to present (Pan Asian, 1980).

Samoan students in San Diego County have the lowest grade point average of any ethnic group (Cheng & Ima, 1989).

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values and Educational Implications—

"Aiga": the extended family is most important social unit (Igoa, 1995). This can include relatives either through marriage, birth, and/or adoption (Pan Asian, 1980).

Kinship relationships are often referred to (cousin, son, sister-in-law) (Pan Asian, 1980).

Loyalty and service to the family is pervasive (Pan Asian, 1980). Helping each other is important (housing, employment, child care, etc.) (Pan Asian, 1980).

Strong Interdependence

"Matai" or "chief" has positional status and makes decisions and is responsible for the family (Pan Asian, 1980).

The church (various Christian faiths) is an important aspect of life (Pan Asian, 1980).

In some church communities, the group is known by their minister (Pan Asian, 1980) and the minister/pastor often acts as an important social and religious leader (Igoa, 1995).

Prestige in the community is important (Pan Asian, 1980).

Children defer to elders (Pan Asian, 1980).

Some marriages are marked by conflict and violence (Pan Asian, 1980).

Older children have a responsibility to care for younger children (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

Storytelling is an art in which elders impart cultural information to youth (Igoa, 1995).

Some Samoan males (10 years and older) may challenge the authority of women. A father may be used as a mediator between school personnel and males (Igoa, 1995).

Music and song are essential elements of Samoan culture (Igoa, 1995).

If a teacher embarrasses or shames a student, the student will withdraw, becoming silent, look blank, and stare without answering (Igoa, 1995).

Europeans often view Samoan discipline as being rather harsh (Cheng, Nakasato, & Wallace, 1995).

VIETNAMESE:

April 1975: First wave of immigrants, professionals who had ties with the United States and defeated government of South Vietnam; most were Vietnamese and escaped by boat (Te, 1995).

Continued on next page

TABLE 2
Key Aspects and Trends in Traditional Values of Selected Asian Pacific American Communities, *Continued*

1978: The second wave of immigrants began because of conflicts between China and Vietnam; many Laotians and Cambodians sought refuge (Te, 1995).

1982: The third wave included many Southeast Asian immigrants who wanted to find their U.S. relatives (Te, 1995).

Many families are fragmented; children living in the United States without parents or relatives (Pan Asian, 1980).

Trends in Traditional Cultural Values—

Extended family is basic social unit (Pan Asian, 1980; Te, 1987).

Family is more important than the individual (Pan Asian, 1980; Te, 1987).

Filial piety is an important value (Te, 1987).

Maintaining harmony in family is highly valued (Pan Asian, 1980).

Mutual obligation in the family (Te, 1987).

Families are patriarchal and authoritarian (Pan Asian, 1980).

Status, social roles, and family position are important (Pan Asian, 1980).

Fulfill one's duty to the family (Pan Asian, 1980; Te, 1987).

Wife's role is strong in children's education and family status (Pan Asian, 1980) and may have the same status as fathers in the family (Te, 1987).

Respect for learning, intelligence, education (Pan Asian, 1980).

Teacher holds high status in society (Pan Asian, 1980; Te, 1987).

Saving face, family pride (Pan Asian, 1980).

Feelings—"the heart"—is important, so are very sensitive (Pan Asian, 1980).

Showing respect to others is one of their overriding values (Te, 1987).

Community as a group may not be as unified (Pan Asian, 1980).

Personal needs are important and may clash with community needs (Pan Asian, 1980).

A person's name is crucial in one's identity—family, middle, and personal name—friend would use personal name, while formal situations use Mr. or Ms. in front of the personal name. Family names are not used (Te, 1987).

of the belief system. The Asian American also may understand the sociocultural context of living in a society where he or she is a member of an underrepresented group. This person may work toward social justice and fight institutional oppression.

In reviewing Table 2, I found that though all the Asian Pacific American groups felt family was the most important social unit, some groups like the Samoans were oriented toward the extended family more than others, such as Japanese Americans. The strength of the Samoan community came from the maintenance of the family (Jung, 1993). The Samoans felt responsibilities and mutual obligation to relatives beyond their nuclear family. Though other groups felt somewhat obligated to help others, the Samoan community seemed to have more far-reaching obligations. For example, it is not unusual for a Samoan without housing to move in with relatives until he or she can secure a place to live.

The view of family in Asian Pacific American communities differs from Western societies. In some American families, parents may say, "I will take care of my son until he is 18, but then he will have to support himself." Many Asian American parents and children form a web of relationships where there is mutual obligation to take care of each other. Parents may continue to assist their children with the understanding that their children will care for them when they are elderly. In communities such as the Japanese American community, elderly parents often live with the eldest son. It is the eldest son's responsibility, along with his wife and children, to care for his parents for the rest of their lives. Sometimes this obligation can be difficult because in modern American society upward mobility may entail moving to a new city. Asian Pacific Americans may feel tremendous guilt when moving away from their parents and siblings.

Since many APA students are sensitive to the community, they may also worry about what others think about them. This can be a negative aspect of Asian values. APA students may have difficulty standing up for what they believe for fear that others may think less of them. In addition, they may also go along with the views of others and not express themselves in hopes of maintaining smooth relationships.

Cultural conflicts can also occur because of changes in gender roles. Though some groups like Filipino Americans have equitable gender status, in many APA families the father maintains a strong authoritarian and decision-making role. As more APA women enter the workforce, males see their patriarchy eroding. This can cause tremendous stress in the family. Women may no longer stay home and tend to the family; they may become assertive and express their needs.

Asian Pacific American students are living in a period of many changes. Though mainstream culture is a daily aspect of schools, the influence of the mass media has brought mainstream culture into their homes. It is a tumultuous time in which parents and students are testing the boundaries of cultural assimilation and cultural preservation. It is also difficult for students who are members of cultures that place community needs before personal needs to understand extreme individualism and the value of independence. Teachers must not judge students based on mainstream sociocultural context but acknowledge that students are struggling with the needs of their families and their own need to feel comfortable within a highly individualistic, aggressive, and capitalistic society.

FIGHTING OPPRESSION

Asian Pacific Americans have a long legacy of fighting for civil rights in the United States.

Asian Pacific Americans have a long legacy of fighting for civil rights in the United States. Students and teachers should be aware of APA's contributions in working toward creating a just society by resisting oppression. Though the image of Asians has often pictured the communities as obedient and docile, Chan (1991) explained that Asian Pacific Americans have been active in fighting three kinds of oppression: race, class, and national origin. Asians have led strikes, brought class action lawsuits, and picketed for higher wages, better working conditions, property rights, and citizenship.

One of the earliest examples of fighting oppression occurred in 1763. Filipino sailors could no longer stand the harsh treatment they received from Spanish ship masters and jumped ship, hiding in the bayous of southeastern Louisiana. The Spanish-speaking Filipinos had been forced to work for the Spanish as crewmen, woodcutters, shipbuilders, and munitions specialists (Cordova, 1983). The Filipinos established the first permanent Asian Pacific American settlement in the continental United States, building a village on stilts in the marshes of the area (Cordova, 1983).

Chinese immigrants also have fought against oppression. In June 1867 during the construction of the transcontinental railroad, Chinese workers struck for better working conditions and higher wages. Though their European American peers were earning $30 a month plus board, Chinese workers were earning $30 without board, which could amount to $1 to $5 a month (Chan, 1991). Two thousand workers struck demanding $40 a month, a 10-hour workday, and a 5-day workweek instead of 6 days, and an end to physical punishment. Unfortunately, the strike only lasted a week, because the railroad owners would not allow food to be delivered to the men and they starved.

Filipino Americans have also been leaders in the fight against oppression in the fields. For example, Philip Vera Cruz, a labor activist in California, dedicated his life to securing rights of Filipino workers (Sinnott, 1993). Many Filipinos migrated to the fields in Hawaii during the early 1900s (Cordova, 1983) and then went to the mainland in 1920s (Takaki, 1989). In California, Filipinos often worked as stoop laborers, harvesting crops such as broccoli, cauliflower, melons, and tomatoes in

California and Washington. Others found work harvesting cherries, apples, and peaches in Oregon, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado (Cordova, 1983). Life was difficult in the fields and Vera Cruz fought for higher wages, housing, safety precautions, and health care for workers. He became the vice president of the United Farm Workers union and worked in the struggle for rights with Cesar Chavez.

Asian Pacific Americans have continued the struggle for civil rights. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans were under attack in the United States. Extreme racism arose from many Americans who feared their Asian neighbors. Curfews were imposed on Japanese Americans and President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which ordered more than 120,000 Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans who lived on the West Coast to report to 10 concentration camps.

Some Japanese Americans fought oppression by volunteering for the armed services. Since loyalty was an important value in their lives, they felt it was crucial to demonstrate to the American public that they were 100 percent American. Many Japanese Americans served in the all-Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, because the armed forces were segregated during that time in U.S. history. This combat team became the most decorated unit during World War II.

Several Japanese Americans fought in court for their civil rights and the rights of the community. The first to challenge the legality of the curfew order during World War II was Minoru Yasui, a Japanese American who had grown up in the Hood River valley of Oregon (Hatamiya, 1993). He graduated from law school at the University of Oregon. Yasui felt it was wrong that the United States would take away his rights as a citizen because of his race. He deliberately challenged the curfew order by walking into a police office at 11 p.m. and demanding to be arrested. Yasui felt as an American, he was responsible for changing the laws. He was convicted of violating curfew and sent to jail for 9 months.

Other Japanese Americans fought against Executive Order 9066 and their removal from their homes. Fred Korematsu in California and Gordon Hirabayashi in Washington did not report for evacuation and did not follow curfew orders. They, like Yasui, were arrested, convicted, and sent to jail. They took their cases to the Supreme Court in the 1940s and lost. The Supreme Court ruled in the Yasui, Korematsu, and Hirabayashi cases that the actions of the United States were justified due to "military necessity" and "pressing public necessity." However, in 1983 with the assistance of Peter Irons, a lawyer and professor at the University of California–San Diego, and Dale Minami, a civil rights lawyer from San Francisco, the three Japanese Americans filed petitions to have their cases reopened (Hatamiya, 1993). Irons and Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga found that several critical documents from the Department of Justice had been hidden. These documents demonstrated that there was little if no threat of espionage by Japanese Americans who lived on the West Coast (Hatamiya, 1993). In a series of court decisions, Korematsu's conviction was vacated in 1983 and the removal of Hirabayashi from his home was also vacated in 1986. Hirabayashi's appeal regarding curfew was vacated in 1988. Unfortunately, Yasui died before his appeal was completed.

The internment of Japanese Americans is important to all Americans because when the rights of citizens are taken away, every citizen is in jeopardy. The following constitutional rights of Japanese Americans were violated during World War II:

Freedom of religion
Freedom of speech
Freedom of the press
Right to assemble
Freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures
Right to an indictment or to be informed of the charges
Right to life, liberty, and property
Right to be confronted with accusatory witnesses
Right to call favorable witnesses
Right to legal counsel
Right to a speedy and public trial
Right to reasonable bail
Freedom from cruel and unusual punishment
Right against involuntary servitude
Right to equal protection under the laws
Right to vote
Right to habeas corpus (to be brought before a court)

Young Japanese Americans fought for vindication of the Japanese American community as a whole and, more importantly, for their parents who had been interned by starting a redress movement. The redress movement was a comprehensive one including a class action lawsuit, reopening of wartime cases community activities, and exhibitions (Hatamiya, 1993). The main principle of the bill focused upon equal opportunity as a fundamental freedom and that the government was guilty of discrimination. In addition, crimes had been committed and the government was accountable for them. After many attempts at getting legislation passed, in 1988, more than 40 years later, President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which called for a national apology from the United States government and monetary compensation to survivors. This act is a milestone in U.S. history because it is the first time "the government granted redress to an entire group of citizens for a deprivation of their constitutional rights" (Hatamiya, 1993, p. 191).

One of the most important aspects of understanding the history of Asian Pacific Americans is to realize that the APA community is an American community. With a long legacy in the United States. The community is made up of native-born Americans, naturalized citizens, and others who are "becoming" American and working toward their citizenship. The families of some Asian Pacific Americans have been in the United States since 1763 and are multigenerational Americans. Unfortunately, for non-Asians the physical characteristics of Asians automatically signify someone who is a foreigner.

Teachers need to provide all children with information about how Asian Pacific Americans have contributed to the struggle for gaining, protecting, and preserving basic civil rights in the United States. The legacy of civil rights has been led by the African American community, but other groups like Asian Pacific Americans also have worked toward protecting the rights of every American. Children need to be shown that we must all "stand up" together.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

To be the most effective, teachers must know the cultural values and orientation of all their students, including Asian Pacific Americans. Teachers who are cultural mediators understand the importance of providing a culturally affirming and synchronic learning environment (Irvine, 1990). Teachers who understand the impact of culture make a "reality check" everyday to assess how relevant their curriculum is to the lives of their students. They look at situations and issues not only from their own viewpoint but also from the perspectives of their students.

When teachers are oblivious to culture, they may accidentally offend others.

When teachers are oblivious to culture, they may accidentally offend others. For example, two teachers were discussing going to the beach. The first teacher said, "I think it is easier if I leave my shoes in the car and wear my flip-flops."

The second teacher, a Japanese American, looked at the other teacher and said, "What are flip-flops?" Of course, the Asian teacher had an idea of what they were but was curious about what the other teacher would say.

"You know, those rubber things you wear on your feet," he said.

Persistently, she said, "They aren't rubber things. I have called them *zoris* all my life."

He looked puzzled. "What did you say?"

"Zoris."

Why did the Japanese American teacher make a point to talk about rubber sandals? She wanted the other teacher to think about culture from a different perspective; instead of looking at an object from his viewpoint, she wanted him to think of it from her standpoint. The first teacher had assumed that the sandals were flip-flops and no discussion was needed. He said the name came from the sound that the slippers made when people walked.

The Asian American teacher was astounded how many people take cultural objects, behaviors, and values of other groups and interpret them from their own perspective. Taking this thought further, I think many teachers are like the non-Asian teacher; they may think they know more about APA students than they actually do. The rubber sandals were "flip-fiops" to the American teacher, but the Asian teacher felt this teacher should learn one Asian term for the sandals. They were zoris to her and the use of flip-flops was somewhat offensive.

When teachers do not understand the cultural milieu of others, they may not even know they are in the midst of cultural conflict. The values of many Asian Pacific American families may be different or in opposition to mainstream expectations, and the clash becomes evident in schooling. Table 3 provides a list of general Asian values toward education and how the behavior of APA students may be direct in conflict with school expectations.

Classrooms are diverse places; however, many teachers expect students to come to school ready to think, to discuss, to create, and to work independently. Asian Pacific American students do come to school to learn, but they may go to school expecting the teacher to provide most of the information by lecturing rather than through the discovery method or class discussions.

Teachers may find that APA students are unwilling or unable to participate in discussions, especially Socratic and issues-centered debates.

When teachers ask students questions, APA students may feel embarrassed to speak in front of the entire class because they have been taught not to show off. In addition, students may feel it is improper to ask questions of their teacher because this would show the teacher's failure to explain properly.

The importance of verbal communication in schools is a major area in which Asian values may come in conflict with mainstream cultures. In many classrooms where sharing information and discussion are at the heart of the instructional strategies, teachers will need to teach APA students oral communication skills. First, teachers need to explain that

TABLE 3
General Asian Pacific American Values Toward Education

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN THEMES TOWARD EDUCATION	EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS
Schooling is a formal process.	Teachers are to be respected and not to be treated casually. Teachers are to be treated formally.
Teachers are to be respected and obeyed.	Students may not ask or answer questions out of respect for the teachers. Students may believe in rules such as "Speak only when spoken to." Students may appear to be passive to teachers.
Teachers are important authorities.	Students will not question the authority or knowledge of teachers, even if the student believes the teacher has given incorrect information, because that would be disrespectful.
Humility and modesty are important values.	Students my be reluctant to volunteer in class and may not offer new ideas to a class discussion in fear of looking like they are "showing off."
Cooperation is an important virtue. Harmony is valued.	Students may help each other on their homework. In addition, students may feel it is important to help each other on class work and may not understand the concept of cheating. Students may also encourage each other by providing answers.
Schooling is a serious process.	Students are expected to be on task and work hard at their desk. They may not believe it is acceptable for students to walk around the room.

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TABLE 3

General Asian Pacific American Values Toward Education, *Continued*

Teachers have "knowledge" and should impart it to students.	Teachers may be expected to lecture most of the time. Students may not have skills to engage in inquiry, discussion, or Socratic methods because the teacher is expected to explain to students what to do. Students do not engage in discussions with teachers because that would not be respectful.
Parents trust teachers.	Parents may not be active in PTA or other educational groups. Parents may believe they do not know as much as teachers. If students are successful, then parents may not understand the importance of PTA and parent-teacher conferences.
Parents believe in developing technical skills in students.	Teachers believe in a well-rounded person. However, parents and students may see the importance of cognitive development in fields like math, science, and English. Parents may believe other subjects like physical education, auto mechanics, and chorus should be included only if there is time. In addition, parents may not understand the emphasis teachers place on self-esteem, creativity, and independence.
Students should be obedient.	Students will be on task and exhibit behaviors of high achieving students. Though they may not understand the lesson, they will not ask teachers for help.
Reading for information is important to provide facts and lessons.	Students may read for facts but may not have the initial skills to infer, synthesize, and apply information.
Teachers are expected to give students homework.	If teachers do not give students work to be done at home, teachers are not doing a "good" job.

From "Asian Attitudes Toward Education" and "Incongruencies between American Teachers' Expectations and Asian Parents' Expectations." In L. L. Cheng, *Assessing Asian Language Performance*, p. 14. Oceanside, CA: Academic Communication Associates, 1991.

students are expected to share. Second, teachers may provide students opportunities to talk in small-group settings rather than questioning Asian students in front of the entire group. It may take time for APA students to become more comfortable to speak to the entire class. Third, teachers can have more verbal students model expected behaviors by having those students present first. For example, in one elementary classroom, the teacher asks several students to take the "hot seat" every week. When a child is on the hot seat, they provide information about an identified character of a book. Classmates then ask questions of the book character played by the child. The teacher found that if she allowed the more verbal students to be in the hot seat at the beginning of the month and the less talkative students at the end of the month, the less verbal students were able to participate. When the teacher did little to prepare students for the activity, some students were unable to do well and then became discouraged from other oral participation activities. The importance of role models in developing oral skills reinforces the goal of many APA high school seniors who wanted to acquire more effective oral skills (Ramist & Arbeiter, 1986).

Teachers need to create comprehensive programs that will assist Asian Pacific American students in developing their "voice."

When teachers use a great deal of dialogue in their classrooms, APA students may find difficulty with discussion and debate. APA students may need more "wait time" than other students. They may freeze up when teachers ask them questions, and it may take them more time to gather their thoughts. In addition, teachers may want to let them think about the question asked, go on to another student, and then come back to the APA student and allow her or him to answer. If debating is used in the classroom, teachers may need to explain to APA students the importance of assertive behaviors. APA students may find it disrespectful to talk pointedly to another or to argue in a public situation. Teachers should explain the purpose of debate and that aggressive behavior is expected and valued. This can be an extremely difficult situation for APA students who have learned that harmony is important in life and that confrontation is considered rude.

One of the most persistent educational implications is teachers need to create comprehensive programs that will assist Asian Pacific American students in developing their "voice." Schools must provide students with effective bilingual and second-language education, and students must become more confident in speaking in front of others and expressing themselves through writing. Since many APA students often exhibit competencies in technical and scientific fields, educators may overlook their lower grades in English, creative writing, or composition.

APA parents also may hold values that are different from mainstream schools. Parents may need to be encouraged to participate in school activities (Lee, 1995). Parents may be fearful of participating in school affairs because of language differences. Young people may have conveyed to their parents that they are embarrassed that their parents cannot speak English well. Parents need to be reassured that their assistance is welcomed. They may be helpful in playground supervision, in the library, on field trips, and with art projects (Lee, 1995). If possible, interpreters can be used to facilitate communications during back-to-school-nights and parent-teacher conferences. One way that Lee (1995) recommends building bridges with parents who may seem reticent is to visit their homes and reach out to them. Another method is to use community representatives to explain school procedures in various languages, including immunization requirements, volunteer programs, parent-teacher conferences, and homework policies.

Not all APA parents have difficulty speaking English. Some parents may need to have verbal interaction with teachers rather than written notes. In the Samoan community, communication is primarily conducted verbally (Jung, 1993). Parents may not respond to a letter or photocopied note from the school. Teachers may not understand that parents are more comfortable talking with someone. Though it may be difficult for teachers to find the time to call or visit parents, this may be the best way to communicate with parents.

As the number of APA students steadily climbs, it is increasingly important for educators to use teaching materials that promote sensitive, positive, and accurate portrayals of Asian Pacific Americans (Pang et al., 1992). As this chapter has indicated, APA students are often confronted with biases from peers, teachers, and friends. Literary resources can present protagonists who are empowered people. These role models should not be generalized depictions of politeness, martial arts, and stilted speech. The characters should represent real people whose cultural background enriches and guides their lives and who illustrate the struggles of individuals with their bicultural identity. When instructors use literature with Asian role models, students may feel validated to express their beliefs because the teacher's use of Asian perspectives gives legitimacy to those viewpoints. Asian Pacific American literature can expand all students' understanding of complicated social issues by providing new perspectives and demonstrating the value of diverse cultural views. Excellent books and materials with APA protagonists are available that focus upon civil rights and personal development (Pang & Evans, 1995). Table 4 lists recommended APA literature for children and adults. These books deal with ethnic identification, biculturalism, marginality, family, gender roles, and personal growth. Literature also presents protagonists who struggle with life and come to better understand themselves and others.

TABLE 4
Recommended Asian Pacific American Literature for Children and Adults

Bruchac, J. (Ed.) (1983). *Breaking silence: An anthology of contemporary Asian American poets*. Greenfield, NY: Greenfield Review Press. (high school/adult)

Chin, F. (1988). *The Chinaman Pacific & Frisco R.R. Co.* Minneapolis: MN: Coffee House Press. (high school/adult)

Chin, F., Chan, J. P., Inada, L. F., & Wong, S. (1975). *Aiiieeeee!: An anthology of Asian-American writers*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books. (high school/adult)

Clark, A. N. (1978). *To stand against the wind*. New York: Viking Press. (intermediate grades)

Crew, L. (1989). *Children of the river*. New York: Dell. (middle and high school)

Feeney, S. (1985). *A is for aloha*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press. (primary grades)

Garland, S. (1993). *The lotus seed*. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. (elementary grades)

Hagedorn, J. (Ed.) (1993). *Charlie Chan is dead: An anthology of contemporary Asian American fiction*. New York: Penguin Books. (high school/adult)

Hamanaka, S. (1990). *The journey: Japanese Americans, racism, and renewal*. New York: Orchard Books. (intermediate grades)

Hongo, G. K., Lau, A., & Inada, L. F. (1978). *The Buddha bandits down highway 99*. Mountain View, CA: Buddhahead Press. (high school/adult)

Japanese American Anthology Committee (Ed.) (1980). *Ayumi*. San Francisco, CA: Japanese American Anthology Committee. (high school/adult)

Lee, M. (1992). *Finding my voice*. New York: Houghton Mifflin. (middle and high school)

Lim, S. G., Tsutakawa, M., & Donnelly, M. (1989). *The forbidden stitch*. Corvallis, OR: Calyx Books. (high school/adult)

Mirikitani, J. (1987). *Shedding silence: Poetry and prose*. Berkeley, CA: Celestial Arts. (high school/adult)

Mura, D. (1991). *Turning Japanese: Memoirs of a Sansei*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press. (high school/adult)

Namioka, L. (1993). *Yang the youngest and his terrible ear*. New York: Dell. (primary grades, easy reader)

Okada, J. (1976). *No-no boy*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press. (high school/adult)

Say, A. (1988). *A river dream*. New York: Houghton Mifflin. (primary grades)

Continued on next page

TABLE 4
Recommended Asian Pacific American Literature for Children and Adults, *Continued*

Say, A. (1993). *Grandfather's journey*. New York: Houghton Mifflin. (primary grades)

Uchida, Y. (1971). *Journey to Topaz*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. (intermediate grades)

Uchida, Y. (1972). *Samurai of gold hill*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. (intermediate grades)

Uchida, Y. (1978). *Journey home*. New York: Atheneum. (intermediate grades)

Uchida, Y. (1981). *A jar of dreams*. New York: Atheneum. (intermediate grades)

Uchida, Y. (1983). *The best bad thing*. New York: Atheneum. (intermediate grades)

Uchida, Y. (1985). *The happiest ending*. New York: Atheneum. intermediate grades)

Uchida, Y. (1991). *The invisible thread*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Julian Messner. (middle and high school)

Uchida, Y. (1993). *The bracelet*. New York: Philomel Books. (intermediate grades and middle school)

Wong, J. (1994). *Good luck gold and other poems*. New York: Macmillan. (elementary grades)

Wong, M. (1993). *Growing up Asian American*. New York: William Morrow Co. (high school/adult)

Yamamoto, H. (1994). *Seventeen syllables*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University. {AU: grade level?}

Yashima, T. (1958). *Umbrella*. New York: Viking Press. (primary grades)

Yep, L. (1975). *Dragonwings*. New York: Harper and Row. (middle and high school)

Yep, L. (1977). *Child of the owl*. New York: Harper and Row. (intermediate grades)

Yep, L. (1979). *Sea glass*. New York: Harper and Row. (intermediate grades)

Yep, L. (1991). *The lost garden: A memoir*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Julian Messner. (middle and high school)

Yep, L. (1991). *The star fisher*. New York: Morrow Books. (intermediate grades)

Yep, L. (1993). *American dragons: Twenty-five Asian American voices*. New York: HarperCollins. (intermediate grades, middle, and high school)

Asian Pacific American students are like other groups. They have strengths and needs. It is crucial for teachers to get to know each student as an individual. In addition, school programs should be created that serve to develop and care for the whole child. Asian Pacific American students represent many different groups who are coping with the strong pressures to assimilate into the mainstream while attempting to preserve core cultural values. It is a difficult journey, and educators can be cultural mediators who assist students in dealing with this complicated process.

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Preparation and Professional Development of Teachers for Culturally Diverse Schools: Perspectives from the Standards Movement

Mary Hatwood Futrell and Elaine P. Witty

In 1954 the United States Supreme Court handed down the seminal *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision, legally ending segregation in America's schools. Although the decision specifically concerned Black and White students, it eventually affected all American students regardless of the racial or ethnic group to which they belong.

In decades following the *Brown* decision, school districts as well as colleges and state departments of education sponsored courses, seminars, workshops, and conferences on human relations, intercultural and multicultural education, and sensitivity training to make schools more culturally responsive. Most of the programs were ineffective and inadequate—primarily because there was little, if any, follow-up to help teachers, administrators, and other school personnel create school environments that were responsive to student's cultural needs. The extent to which teachers perceived the programs as relating to their values and beliefs about the culture, diversity, and intellectual ability of their students also determined whether the programs succeeded or failed (Sleeter, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1994).

The legal desegregation of America's schools occurred about the same time another phenomenon was affecting our education system. When the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik satellite into space in 1957, Americans came to the forceful realization that our education system needed to be transformed. In a matter of months, new and more rigorous curricular standards, especially in mathematics and science, were implemented across the nation. More assessments and increasingly standardized tests were used to monitor whether students were achieving at higher academic levels.

Support for more rigorous standards waned once America launched its space program and put a man on the moon in 1969. This change came at a time when attention was focusing increasingly on test scores as a means of determining whether students were achieving academically. Concurrently, the 1960s also marked the beginning of the 30-year decline in SAT and ACT test scores. Ravitch (1983) states that the 1977 *Report of the Advisory Panel on the Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Decline, on Further Examination* indicated that the reasons for the decline included more students, especially more minority and poor students, were taking the SAT; increasing numbers of students taking the test were not studying the subjects that would prepare them to excel on it; and the content of the courses being studied was insufficiently rigorous. The panel also reported that "less thoughtful and critical reading is now being demanded and that careful writing has apparently about gone out of style" (p. 27).

Growing frustration and impatience on the part of the public, politicians, and the business community with the declining test scores and other perceived indications that schools were not providing quality education to students led educators in the 1970s to propose high-stakes minimum competency tests for all students. Minimum competency tests came under legal fire from minority and poor students in many states. The Fifth Circuit Court of Florida handed down a landmark decision regarding minimum competency testing, indicating that the test, curriculum, and teaching are inextricably linked (*Debra P. v. Turlington*, 1981). The court ruled that states have the right to use tests for high-stakes purposes, such as to assess whether students have met minimum graduation requirements, but must ensure that students are taught the content on which they will be tested.

Motivated in part by the continued stagnation of SAT and ACT test scores, a lack of clear school policies for improving education, and a perceived increase in violence in schools, calls for school renewal continued to be persistent and loud. Schools were accused of failing to prepare students for their civic responsibilities in our democratic society and of not providing them with the skills and knowledge to become self-sufficient, self-actualized citizens. Further, schools were charged with failing to meet the varied learning needs of an increasingly diverse student population. Other factors included doubts that America would be able to compete in a global economy and a fear of the effect technology, mass communications, and rapid transportation would have on society (Futrell, 1992).

The current reform movement in the United States that began in the 1980s manifested itself as a standards movement. It is a movement to establish state and national frameworks to which local school districts are encouraged to link their efforts to implement local standards. The linchpin that holds together the standards frameworks is that they are rigorous, voluntary, and flexible. Standards are voluntary in that states and localities decide whether or not to use them. They are flexible in that states and localities can decide which strategies are best for their own schools in achieving the standards.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this chapter is five-fold. First, we define "culturally diverse schools" and "the standards movement" and how they are simultaneously transforming the U.S. education system. Second, we examine the historical implications of efforts to implement standards in the preparation of new teachers and the continuing professional development of teachers who are currently in the classroom. Third, we discuss what the literature indicates should be done to prepare teachers to teach the standards to culturally diverse students. Fourth, we use examples to show how schools and school districts and schools, colleges, and departments of education (SCDE's) as well as professional education associations are responding to these phenomena. Finally, we argue that in order to ensure fidelity between the standards movement and students' ability to meet new standards, the renewal of schools and the teaching profession should occur simultaneously with the implementation of the standards. This renewal should enable schools, especially teachers, to respond positively to the cultural and educational needs of our diverse and pluralistic student population.

CULTURALLY DIVERSE SCHOOLS

American society has haltingly come to understand itself as culturally diverse and pluralistic. Schools, public schools in particular, mirror what our society will look like in the 21st century. The culture of schools and the capacity of teachers to implement standards and other reform initiatives are indispensable elements in the effort to reform our education system.

Defining Diversity

In this chapter we define diversity to include race, ethnicity, gender, regionalism, religion, socioeconomic status or class, and exceptionalities. We define culture, to paraphrase E. T. Hall, as encompassing all that we say and do (1981). Culture is the confluence of language, beliefs, values, traditions, and behaviors that permeate our lives. Cultural diversity describes who we are as individuals and as a nation.

America's Diverse Schools

Nowhere is that diversity more vividly reflected than in the nation's schools. According to *American Education Statistics at a Glance*, 48,824,000 students were enrolled in public and private elementary and secondary schools in the United States in 1993 (National Education Association, 1995). About 43,350,000 were enrolled in public schools; 41 percent of public school students were identified as representing racial or language minority groups. In one affluent suburb in northern Virginia, an elementary school reported that 80 percent of its students spoke a language other than English at home. Throughout the school district, 112 different languages reportedly were spoken by the students.

In California, the majority of elementary school students are from language and racial minority groups. According to a RAND study, *Newcomers in American Schools: Meeting the Educational Needs of Immigrant Youth* (McDonnell & Hill, 1993), by the turn of the century at least six additional states could also have student populations consisting mostly of members of minority groups. Seventy percent of these children are concentrated in urban centers where the schools they attend are more likely to be run-down and inadequately equipped. The study's authors also point out, however, that increased language and racial diversity is not unique to any particular region of the country. Diversity in race, language, and ethnicity occurs in small towns and rural counties as well as urban areas throughout the nation.

This increased diversity is reflected in institutions of higher education where, according to the 1995 *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac*, 21.3 percent of students at 4-year public institutions and 19.3 percent of students at 4-year private institutions are from minority groups. The percentages are even higher at 2-year institutions.

America's schools are also more religiously diverse. Religious diversity is reflected in students' beliefs, values, and ways of worship. For example, because of religious beliefs, some students are not allowed to hold elected office, are required to dress in special attire (especially girls), must eat a special diet, and are required to pray a specified number of times per day regardless of where they are.

Gender-Related Educational Issues

With respect to gender, it has been well documented that girls tend to be treated differently in school than boys. Girls do not receive the same encouragement or feedback in class that boys receive, nor are girls given as long to respond to questions. Further, girls are not perceived as being as academically capable as boys; therefore, they are not encouraged to take rigorous courses such as calculus, physics, or advanced technology. Even though they have the ability to master these courses as well as boys, in too many instances girls continue to be counseled to pursue general or vocational programs.

The effects of this differential treatment often does not become evident until after high school graduation. For instance, women graduate from high school at higher rates than men and continue their education after high school at greater rates than men. However, women still graduate with bachelor's degrees at lower rates than men (*Postsecondary Education Opportunity*, 1995). While there are numerous reasons as to why this occurs, among them must be included the differential treatment female students experience throughout their schooling.

Tracking Students

Similar, if not worse, educational experiences are true for students from racial and language minority groups. Nowhere is this more evident than in the tracking system that permeates our school systems. Black students are more likely to be tracked in the vocational curriculum, Hispanic students in the general curriculum, and Asian and White students in academic or advanced placement curricula (Oakes, 1985). It is also well documented that Black and Hispanic boys are over-represented in special education programs. These students often are placed in special education programs not because they have been diagnosed as having special learning needs but because they have behavioral problems.

The fact that racial and language minority students are under- represented in academic or advanced placement programs also means that they are not being taught rigorous, challenging content in mathematics, science, English, history, government, and other courses that prepare students to compete successfully in an increasingly high-stakes educational environment. These "gatekeeper" courses are the ones that prepare students to successfully meet SAT, ACT, and statewide testing requirements, matriculate to and graduate from the college or university of their choice, and compete for jobs and economic stability in mainstream of society. Essentially, although courses may bear similar labels, depending on the program (academic, general, or vocational), the content, rigor, and teaching strategies vary markedly (Brown and Goren, 1993; National Education Association, 1993; Oakes, 1985).

Our point is that America's schools are more culturally diverse and complex than at any time in our nation's history. This diversity has been further expanded by the wave of immigrants who began arriving in the 1980s and continue to migrate to the United States in the 1990s. According to the 1993 RAND study, about 9 million immigrants came to America in the last 10–12 years—of whom almost one third were of school age (McDonnell & Hill, 1993). Most of these children arrived unable to speak English; many had never been in a formal school. Still others underwent the shock of adapting to a new culture and of being reunited with their families after years of separation. Often because of cultural values and family needs, many of these children are forced to leave school and go to work when they reach the age of 12 or 13. Thus, for these children and their families, the call for higher educational standards is anathema to their immediate survival and cultural needs.

We are not suggesting that the nation should not continue moving forward with efforts to define and implement higher educational standards. Indeed, we strongly advocate and support the standards movement—it is long, long overdue. We do, however, remember lessons from past standards movements and why they did not succeed. We do not want to repeat those mistakes. Our purpose in this section is to provide a context within which to discuss the standards movement and its implications for teacher preparation and professional development in culturally diverse schools. We believe that it is important for the public and the teaching profession to understand the complexity of the cultural diversity challenges facing the nation as we embark on efforts to increase and enhance standards in our schools.

THE STANDARDS MOVEMENT

According to the *Status of New State Curriculum Frameworks, Standards, Assessments, and Monitoring Systems* chart, 45 states are implementing or planning to implement new curriculum frameworks or standards, 31 are implementing or planning to implement standards linked to performance levels, and 41 are implementing or planning to implement performance-based assessments (*Education Week*, 1993). However, calls for new standards, new curriculum frameworks, new forms of assessment, and new certification requirements for teachers are raising questions about the ability of teachers and teacher educators to implement all of these reforms.

Standards for Systemic Reform

The current educational standards movement is both local and national in scope. Virtually every state in the nation has been articulating standards, revising curricular offerings, and developing assessments to measure whether the standards are being met. At the national level, initiatives by the federal government and national organizations have been joined in an effort to produce a comprehensive and coherent standards movement. Fifteen national professional organizations have developed or are in the process of developing national standards for their particular subject area. These efforts have been joined on numerous fronts by efforts at the state level.

Led by the National Commission on Excellence in Education's (NCEE) 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, numerous reports, studies, and books (all hereafter called reports) were issued by private and public commissions, task forces, and panels on the status of education in the United States. All contributed to the building of a national movement to reform and to restructure the nation's education system.

That so many diverse groups were issuing reports on education was not unprecedented. Indeed, for most of the 20th century, the education system in the United States has been in some state of reform.

> The criticisms of current education reformers . . . are virtually identical to those of the progressives at the turn of the century, in the 1930s, and again in the 1960s. Many of the reforms we are pursuing today were pursued in each of these eras. (Darling-Hammond, 1993)

What was unusual in the 1980s was the universality and uniformity of the recommendations to improve education, especially the call for a core curriculum, more accountability, a reshaping of teacher training, and higher standards at all levels of education. The reports were consistent in recognizing that the entire education system had to be reformed, not just parts of it. As a result, a new phrase, "systemic reform," was added to the lexicon of the reform debate. Simultaneously, reforms would have to address issues related to goals, curriculum, assessments, the initial preparation and ongoing professional development of teachers and administrators, and school governance.

Goals 2000: Educate America Act

The reform initiative that moved the nation toward a systemic effort to provide common standards for schools was the establishment of national education goals. The six education goals for the year 2000 were adopted by the nation's governors and President Bush at a historic 1989 meeting in Charlottesville, Virginia. The third goal calls for a core curriculum to be studied by all students (i.e., English, mathematics, science, history, foreign languages, geography, and technology). In March 1994, when Congress passed into law the Goals 2000: Educate America Act (P.L. 103-227), two additional goals were added: Goal 6 parental involvement, and Goal 7 teacher preparation and professional development. Congress had been lobbied extensively by education and parent groups to add these two goals, and wisely did so.

Efforts to Establish Standards for Teachers and Teacher Education

The addition of Goal 7 led to a new round of initiatives that linked reform and restructuring from prekindergarten through high school to the establishment of standards for teachers and teacher education. The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) revised its standards to define more clearly how professional educators are to be prepared and how they should practice. This revision was augmented by the efforts of the National Association of State Directors for Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC), which focused on standards related to the content and structure of programs designed for teacher preparation.

At the same time, states began revising their standards for teacher licensure and certification. Nine states empowered professional standards boards to change how teachers are educated and evaluated. This effort is part of a national movement being led by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), which is establishing national standards for practicing teachers who voluntarily wish to become nationally certified. NBPTS is attempting to define excellence in teaching across disciplines and across states. We discuss efforts of our institutions, The George Washington University and Norfolk State University, in this project later in this chapter. Also working in the area of standards for teachers is the Interstate New Teachers Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC). Under the auspices of the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), INTASC is devising a set of standards for teachers that can be used across state borders (Galluzzo, 1993).

All of the above standards efforts are designed to ensure that teachers have excellent preparation and can teach to the standards being promulgated by state and national agencies and organizations. NCATE, NASDTEC, INTASC, NBPTS, and other national organizations are working with state and federal agencies and national subject matter groups to develop coherent standards for schools, students, and teachers. Significantly, the standards being developed by national organizations working with government agencies require school personnel, especially teachers, to demonstrate that they can work in culturally diverse schools and successfully teach our pluralistic student population.

The current standards movement has focused primarily on three types of standards: (1) content or curriculum standards, (2) performance or accountability standards, and (3) capacity or delivery standards (also referred to as opportunity-to-learn standards). The three types of standards are linked—one will not succeed without the other two. Of the three, the capacity standards have proven the most controversial.

The capacity standards address issues related to the ability of the school and the education system to implement the first two standards: content and performance. Capacity standards focus on the physical and fiscal capacity of schools to ensure that all students have equal opportunities to be prepared to meet the new content and performance standards set by the district or the state. This standard also focuses on the readiness of schools, in particular the readiness of teachers, to "deliver" the new standards. In other words, focus has shifted in recent years to teachers as central to any hope of transforming schools. The focus also has shifted to the issue of excellence and equity, which to this point has been conspicuously absent from the debate about education reform, especially the debate about how the standards will be implemented in culturally diverse schools.

Equity and Excellence for All Students

Most of the education reform reports call for educating *all students* to meet more rigorous standards. For instance, the NCEE report states:

> The twin goals of equity and high-quality schooling have profound and practical meaning for our economy and society; and we cannot permit one to yield to the other either in principle or in practice. To do so would deny young people their chance to learn and live according to their aspirations and abilities. It also would lead to a generalized accommodation to mediocrity in our society on the one hand or the creation of an undemocratic elitism on the other. (1983, p. 14)

As Warren Simmons observed, the nation entered the 1990s with twin goals for education reform. The first goal was to restructure schools in ways that enhance their effectiveness; the second goal was to create curricula and instructional approaches that would help all students attain world-class levels of achievement (Simmons, 1993). NCEE's intent, then, was to ensure that all students, including those who were disadvantaged educationally, socially, or economically, would have equal opportunities to meet higher academic standards.

The issue of equity has not been raised to the fore of the education reform movement at the state level as it has at the national level. For example, although the National Governors' Association (NGA) was a leading advocate of Goals 2000, when the debate expanded to include capacity standards in the legislation, NGA had considerable difficulty with this provision (Traiman, 1993). NGA viewed the inclusion of the capacity standards as an intrusion on states' legal responsibility to provide education to those residing within their state boundaries (*Education Week*, 1994; Fuhrman, 1994). However, sidestepping the capacity standards issue will make a mockery of the education reform movement and doom it to failure. Students' access to schools that are conducive to effective teaching and learning will determine who can or cannot meet the new standards.

Students' access to schools that are conducive to effective teaching and learning will determine who can or cannot meet the new standards.

Arthur Wise (1988) and Jonathan Kozol (1991) argue that poor children and minority children are far more likely than children in more affluent school districts to be taught by teachers who are not qualified to teach the core subjects. These children also are more likely to have teachers who completed an alternative certification program and to have more substitute teachers. The poor and minority children who increasingly reflect the norm in our schools are more likely to attend schools that are in substandard condition, lack state-of-the art technology, and do not offer a diverse, rigorous curriculum. These schools and school districts are characterized by teachers who do not have access to sustained professional development opportunities. In addition, studies show that disadvantaged, rural, and minority students are less likely to receive program planning counseling than their White counterparts and other students who are more advantaged. Inferior instructional materials are more likely found in schools where students are poor than in schools where students are affluent (Winfield and Woodard, 1994). Unless attention is focused on these antecedent conditions, students in these schools will not have the educational foundation to meet the new, more rigorous standards. The standards movement will become another burden they will have to shoulder with little hope of standing up under its weight.

Proving Higher Standards for All Students Can Be Achieved

As has been proven by The College Board's EQUITY 2000 Project, when provided strong counseling, motivation, and support, poor and minority children can demonstrate mastery of rigorous standards.

In 1990 The College Board launched EQUITY 2000 as a broad-based top-down and bottom-up reform initiative designed to eliminate tracking, strengthen the academic preparation of all students to take algebra, and encourage all students to take rigorous college preparatory courses. EQUITY 2000 was designed to shape attitudes and expectations about college and to inform students, parents, teachers, and counselors about ways to encourage student aspirations and to enhance preparation for postsecondary education. EQUITY 2000 is distinguished from other systemic reforms in its focus on influencing educational policies and practices at the school district level.

The project has been piloted in Fort Worth, Texas; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Nashville, Tennessee; Prince George's County, Maryland; Providence, Rhode Island; and San Jose, California. According to an article in *The College Board News* (1995), preliminary analysis of the evaluation of the project indicates that each site is approaching the objective of 100 percent enrollment in algebra or higher level mathematics by the ninth grade. At four sites, enrollment in geometry is above 50 percent for all ethnic and racial groups. Average passing rates in algebra and geometry are above 50 and 70 percent, respectively. Four years ago only 15 to 20 percent of ethnic and racial minority students enrolled in these courses. In addition, according to the study, "expectations of teachers and counselors are rising for all students, and most teachers believe that their students are engaged in positive, qualitatively different learning experiences" (p. 5).

An article that appeared in *Education Week* (1995) reporting on the findings of several U.S. Education Department (DOE) studies (*The Condition of Education: 1995; Trends Among High School Seniors, 1972–1992; High School Students Ten Years After* A Nation at Risk, and the *Educational Progress of Black Students*) support EQUITY 2000's results. These DOE studies, according to *Education Week*, show that the number of high school graduates who completed courses such as algebra and geometry grew from 13 percent in 1982 to 47 percent in 1992. Much of that increase occurred because more female, Black, and Hispanic students began enrolling in academic programs rather than in general education tracks. While the growth in these areas merits applause, it must be remembered that Black and Hispanic students in 1995 remain less likely than White students to take more rigorous science and mathematics courses or to study foreign languages. This is in part because Black and Hispanic students are not selecting these courses, but also because they are not counseled or encouraged to study science, mathematics, or foreign languages.

NCTM: *Early Efforts to Link Standards and Teachers' Professional Development*

Another example of students' mastery of rigorous content standards is reflected in the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) Sixth Through Eighth [Grade] Mathematics Standards (STEM). The standards, curriculum, and teaching guides developed by NCTM, which pioneered the standards movement, are being used in more than 40 states. NCTM developed internationally competitive content standards for mathematics to be used in K–12 schools. In addition, the NCTM standards are being used by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) as part of the assessment and certification process for teachers who wish to become nationally certified. The NCTM standards have also been used by the National Goals Panel in developing the mathematics standards for the core curriculum outlined in Goal 3 of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act. In addition to developing national standards for mathematics, NCTM created curricular materials and designed assessments to measure students progress toward those standards.

Equally important, NCTM's Sixth Through Eighth [Grade] Mathematics Standards project has been piloted in 27 schools nationwide before disseminating the standards for general implementation (STEM, 1993). All schools participating in the pilot project were also required to participate in NCTM's professional development program to help teachers implement the new standards. NCTM committed funds to ensuring that teachers teach the skills required in the new standards and demonstrate mastery of the curriculum and assessments. This was accomplished through model undergraduate and professional development training programs. Teachers teaching the standards were required to participate in 3 weeks of intensive training before attempting to implement the standards. This experience was followed by professional development training throughout the school year and again the following summer. Observer reports of extensive site visits to the 27 schools indicated that the linkage of teachers' professional development to the implementation of the NCTM standards greatly enhanced students' mastery of the new mathematics concepts and assessments (NCTM, 1993).

Recognizing the Role of Teachers in Achieving Higher Standards

Despite the school governance disagreement, the NGA remains strongly committed to the reform of education and the implementation of Goals 2000. In *Transforming Professional Development for Teachers: A Guide for State Policymakers* (Traiman, 1995), NGA states that:

> There is widespread recognition among teachers and researchers that the current system of professional development is ineffectual and inefficient. State and local policymakers are beginning to recognize that the needs are too urgent and the resources too scarce to continue to ignore the ineffectiveness of investments in professional development...that a coherent approach to teacher development is needed that connects and aligns teacher recruitment, preservice education, standards for licensure and accreditation, roles and responsibilities, professional development, supervision, and pay and benefits. (p. 2)

The NGA's perspective coincides with a growing consensus that professional development must be approached within an integrated policy framework for teacher development (preservice and inservice) and must be linked to the goals and standards of state and local reform initiatives. The NGA recognizes that the implementation of systemic reform requires a teaching force prepared to help students reach high standards of achievement. It also recognizes that a system of professional development that helps teachers learn, develop, use, and maintain the knowledge and skills required to meet this goal is critical to sustaining excellence and equity in our schools (NGA, 1995).

The basic premise in the NGA report and other such documents is that all children could meet higher academic standards if only they were asked to do so and if they were given adequate opportunities and motivation to learn the new content. To achieve this goal, content and performance standards must be aligned and viewed as part of a long-term, comprehensive approach to reform. This effort requires that we reduce the disparities in achievement associated with race, ethnicity, gender, or any other socioeconomic variable while raising the level of student achievement for all.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Earlier in this chapter, we noted the changing demographics in America's schools, colleges, and universities. Student populations at all levels of education are more culturally diverse. The same is not true of the teaching profession, however. Currently, only 5 percent of the K–12 teaching force consists of persons from minority groups. In higher education, the proportion is smaller, from 3 to 4 percent. According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac* (1995), 16 percent of current education majors are members of minority groups. However, many will never enter the teaching profession. Some will transfer to professions in areas such as business or law; others will leave prior to graduation because they do not have the funds to stay in school. Still others will fail to pass the National Teachers Examination or other assessments required for certification to teach.

Thus, realistically we know now that the teaching profession does not and will not soon reflect the cultural diversity we see in our schools. Even if this were not so, the issue would still be to find better ways to prepare all teachers—minority and majority—to understand what it means to be able to teach in culturally diverse schools. Regardless of their racial, ethnic, or cultural background, teachers must be able to demonstrate their ability to teach culturally diverse students.

As Christine Bennett (1995) points out, "Culturally responsive teacher education programs must include opportunities for preservice teachers to work in schools where all students learn and develop to their highest potential; where teachers and students understand and begin to develop multiple ways of perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating" (p. 260). Teachers in culturally responsive schools are comfortable with their students' cultural styles, according to Bennett. She also notes that interculturally competent teachers are aware of the diversity within racial, language, and cultural groups, know that culture is ever changing, and are aware of the dangers of stereotyping (p. 263).

Preservice teachers must be able to work in schools where students conform to those aspects of school culture necessary for harmonious social interaction while retaining their own ethnic identity. These teachers need to be able to use teaching strategies and programs and ideas, such as cooperative learning and conflict resolution, that foster intergroup relations. They must also learn the critical importance of school-community-university collaboration. This is particularly true if they are to understand the politics of the implementation of academic standards and other initiatives designed to reform education and restructure schools. All the examples cited in this chapter have established and nurtured school-community-university collaborations to ensure that reform initiatives are successfully implemented and that all students benefit from them.

Teacher Preparation and the Standards Movement

The effectiveness of efforts to raise the standards and reform education depends largely on the extent to which classroom teachers are prepared and willing to employ instructional and interactional procedures designed for success with all students. Given the increasingly diverse student population and the current standards movement, it is clear that teacher preparation programs based on old designs will not work. Certainly, these old programs will not produce teachers who can find joy and excitement in teaching diverse student populations to meet rigorous new standards.

A review of recent literature reveals five major responsibilities for teacher preparation programs in the standards movement. These responsibilities are to (1) model inclusive programs and high standards for diverse teacher education populations, (2) prepare new teachers to teach all students in the diverse school population, (3) conduct research on issues related to the teaching of diverse populations, (4) work with inservice teachers in professional development activities, and (5) work with schools to improve teaching and learning conditions.

Modeling High Standards and Inclusiveness

Teacher educators and other faculty members who prepare teachers, counselors, and administrators will need a solid base of knowledge about the content standards, the assessment and evaluation process by which achievement and progress are judged, and the policy structures through which standards-based decisions about education are implemented (Diez, Richardson, & Pearson, 1994). They also need to understand how the policy and governance structures through which standards-based decisions about education are developed and administered.

Children can meet high standards if teachers are culturally responsive in their instruction and interactions with all students.

College and university faculty should also exhibit attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge that are congruent with efforts to successfully prepare teachers to teach rigorous standards to culturally diverse student populations. This means that all teacher preparation programs should include a rich repertoire of resource materials that reflect the contributions of experts from all segments of our culturally diverse society to those content areas. Prospective teachers who witness these types of inclusivity throughout their preparation program will be better prepared to teach in an inclusive manner (Dilworth, 1993).

Preparing New Teachers to Teach All Students

The effectiveness of efforts to raise standards and reform education is largely dependent upon the extent to which classroom teachers are prepared and willing to implement these initiatives. Failure to attend to the needs of teachers as new reforms and structures are implemented will seriously retard the affect of the standards movement.

Preparation of new teachers to successfully teach standards to diverse student populations has been the topic of considerable research. For example, Villegas (1991) suggests that teachers need (1) an attitude of respect for cultural differences, (2) procedures for getting to know the cultural resources of their students, (3) the ability to translate this knowledge into effective instruction, and (4) skills in interactive decision making. Garibaldi (1994) adds that teachers need the understanding that there are differences between the sociological dimensions of "culture" and "class" as they prepare to teach in culturally diverse classrooms. They also must know how to plan and organize effective instructional situations and how to motivate students as well as possess competence in the assessment of the academic strengths and weaknesses of all children. A key item in Garibaldi's list of teachers' needs is knowing how to encourage the cooperation of students' families and communities.

To teach successfully in culturally diverse schools, teachers should have the knowledge and research skills to know that all children can learn if teachers use the elements of time and appropriate instructional strategies, materials, and perspectives. Teacher education programs should prepare teachers with a "They can if I will" approach to educating culturally diverse populations. Children can meet high standards if teachers are culturally responsive in their instruction and interactions with all students.

Working with Inservice Teachers in Professional Development

The current standards movement challenges practicing teachers to strengthen their efforts to teach all children. Although teachers have historically been successful at helping some students meet high standards, the concept of helping all students meet high standards is new and will require retraining in many cases. The new standards promote a vision that emphasizes a dramatic departure from current practice in schools. Sykes and Plastrik (1993) summarize the vision as including the following points:

- Teaching and learning for deeper conceptual understanding of subject matter,
- The expectation that all children must have access to and can profit from challenging learning,
- Students' active construction of knowledge through engagement in authentic tasks and problems, and
- Responsiveness to student diversity that enables cultural "boundary crossing" for children not in the middle-class, White mainstream.

Reforming Schools and Colleges of Education to Prepare Teachers to Teach More Rigorous Standards to Culturally Diverse Students

Most teachers who enter classrooms today are prepared in schools, colleges, or departments of education (SCDEs). Many of their programs are based on models put into place prior to the emergence of research on equity, diversity, and standards. Teacher preparation should be a collaborative endeavor involving schools of education, liberal arts, and sciences at the university along with practitioners from the schools where teachers will work. Such collaboration is necessary to assist teachers in developing strong academic backgrounds required to teach students so that they can meet more rigorous disciplinary standards. Yet in most institutions of higher education, SCDEs assume the primary and sometimes sole responsibility for the education of teachers. Such a model is inadequate in a time when a discipline-led standards movement is calling for higher standards.

Lessons From Past Efforts to Reform Teacher Education

History teaches some important lessons about how to change SCDEs. In 1960 the federal government began strategies to move education from an exclusive to an inclusive system by supporting equality of opportunity for students and a new multicultural cohort of teachers (Freiberg & Waxman, 1990). The Teacher Corps projects, which lasted from 1965 to 1982, were designed to change teacher education and the education of children from low-income families. Other less comprehensive change efforts were seen in the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA, Public Law 90-35), the nine U. S. Office of Education Bureau of

Research–funded Comprehensive Models for Preparing Elementary Teachers, the Competency-Based Teacher Education movement (CBTE), and the research centers funded through the National Center of Education.

In 1968, the steering committee and task force of the National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth presented its report, *Teachers for the Real World* (Smith, 1969). Maintaining that teachers build barriers between themselves and students because they have been provided with inadequate theory and outmoded concepts, the report's authors proposed a new training complex for teacher preparation that would be established as a joint enterprise by the public schools, universities and colleges, communities, and related public agencies. *Teachers for the Real World* generated some discussion but no real rush to change SCDEs. In a second report, authorized by the National Teacher Corps, Smith, in collaboration with Silverman, Borg, and Fry (1980) proposed another outline for reform of pedagogical schools. The plan was based upon the assumptions that schools of pedagogy could become genuine professional schools, that the program of professional preparation must be completely overhauled, and that the knowledge base for the scientific grounding of the pedagogical acts was available and increasing (Smith et al., 1980). A key feature of the proposed school of pedagogy concept was its field-based thrust."

Yet, an analysis of historical efforts to reform teacher education and the profession found a lack of significant differences in how teachers have been prepared for their profession since the 1930s (Freiberg & Waxman, 1990). One of the major factors inhibiting change in teacher education, noted in the Southern Regional Education report, *Changing the Education of Teachers* (Hawley, Austin, & Goldman, 1988), is the lack of institutional commitment to teacher education with few college or university presidents or other academic leaders involved in educational reform.

Noting that students in today's schools are vastly different from those of past generations, the Renaissance Group published a statement on the new American student. It suggested that universities focus on five select areas of paramount need: (1) early childhood education, (2) science and mathematics, (3) minority and multicultural programs, (4) instructional technology, and (5) interagency collaborations (The Renaissance Group, 1993).

The work of the Renaissance Group is important because member institutions educate 1 out of every 15 teachers in the nation. This group, led by university presidents, raised the level of discussion about change in teacher education from the departmental or school level to the presidential level. Their influence in the production of teachers who can help students meet higher standards will be significant.

In addressing the need for university-wide support for the education of teachers, the Holmes Group (1995) has advanced a proposal, *Tomorrow's Schools of Education*, calling for schools of education to focus on five challenges. Among their recommendations, the Holmes Group challenged universities to develop a new faculty including a larger percentage of people comfortable working in the public schools as well as on the university campus, to use NBPTS nationally certified teachers and other qualified practitioners as faculty colleagues, to recruit a more diverse student body, and to create new locations, particularly professional development schools in which faculty and students would do most of their work.

Underscoring the prime role of teachers in the success or failure of the education reform movement, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future issued a bold blueprint aimed at providing every child in America access to competent, caring, qualified teachers. The 26-member commission of policymakers, business and community leaders, and educators was chaired by North Carolina governor James B. Hunt and directed by Linda Darling-Hammond. The commission's work was supported by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The report, *What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future* (1996), provided ample documentation to support its recommendations on recruiting, preparing, supporting, and rewarding excellent educators in all of America's schools. Some of the recommendations relating specifically to the standards movement include the following:

- Establish professional standards boards in every state.
- License teachers based on demonstrated performance, including tests of subject matter knowledge, teaching knowledge, and teaching skill.
- Use National Board standards as the benchmarks for accomplished teaching.
- Organize teacher education and professional development programs around standards for students and teachers.
- Set goals and enact incentives for National Board Certification in every state and district. Aim to certify 105,000 teachers in this decade, one for every school in the United States.
- Flatten hierarchies and reallocate resources to send more dollars to

the front lines of schools: Invest more in teachers and technology and less in non-teaching personnel.

The commission's report differs from past reform reports in major ways. It is systemic in scope, and calls for a new infrastructure for professional development and standards for teachers and students at all levels of education. It also suggests reallocation of targeted dollars to accomplish recommendations.

EXEMPLARY MODELS OF TEACHER PREPARATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Are Reform and Professional Development Being Linked?

Is there any evidence that schools, school districts, and SCDEs are linking teacher preparation and professional development to education reforms? The results of a recent study of school districts in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area indicates that the answer is yes (Futrell, Holmes, Christie, & Cushman, 1995). A total of 1,350 teachers, school-based administrators from 42 schools, and 16 district-level personnel from nine districts (two in Maryland, six in Virginia, and the District of Columbia) participated in the study. Reforms and teachers' professional development in rural, suburban, and urban school districts were studied. Three of the nine districts enrolled more than 100,000 students while one had fewer than 2,500. Three of the districts enrolled mostly minority students and three had minority student populations of at least 35 percent, with many of these students belonging to language minority groups. At least one of the school districts was publicly known to be on the verge of fiscal bankruptcy.

The study, conducted by The George Washington University Institute for Curriculum, Standards, and Technology, found that there are multiple major reform and restructuring initiatives in the nine school districts. District-wide reforms have centered primarily on (1) changing student assessment practices; (2) increasing the use of technology in the classroom; (3) implementing curricular changes in subjects such as mathematics, language arts, and science; (4) mainstreaming and greater inclusion of special needs populations, including multicultural endeavors; and (5) improving parental and community involvement in the schools.

At all levels of the study, respondents indicated that teachers' professional development was linked to plans to implement reforms in the schools. In addition, teachers reported that professional development was most satisfactory when it was based on the needs of the professionals and the students in the school and when it was delivered in the school. Teachers, principals, and central administrators agreed that "one-shot" workshops did not work and that professional development must be an iterative process, ensuring that there is follow-up support in the classroom and throughout the school if lasting reforms are to occur. Finally, teachers said that the best professional development involves collegial work settings, team teaching environments, school improvement networks, and school-university collaboratives. On the latter point, questions were raised about the viability of college and university programs to prepare teachers to teach in restructured classrooms. In several school districts, the point was made that new teachers are not prepared to teach in these reconceptualized classrooms and that schools need practical—not theoretical—help from teacher educators and researchers.

Programs Linking Reforms and Professional Development

Two excellent examples of professional development that put teachers in the roles of both learners and leaders of education reform are the Christa McAuliffe Institute fellows and the Minority Mathematics and Science Teachers Leadership Corps (Futrell, 1994). In addition, the standards promulgated by NBPTS have far-reaching implications for future teacher preparation and professional development programs, as well as for schools and the teaching profession.

Christa McAuliffe Institute

The 100 Christa McAuliffe Institute (CMI) fellows are selected on the basis of the innovative ways in which they are integrating technology into their classrooms. The fellows are from 29 states and teach at all grade levels. Their students and schools are culturally diverse. Each year the CMI fellows attend several 2- to 3-day seminars designed by themselves in which they share ideas about what is or is not working in their classrooms. CMI fellows also create a 2-week institute in which they work with university staff and other experts in such fields as fine arts, mathematics, science, technology, social studies, or language arts to design and field-test innovative programs to implement in their home schools. To maintain ongoing collaboration and planning, the fellows established an electronic network. These teachers are working together to design programs to make schools more effective for all students, especially for those at risk.

Minority Mathematics and Science Teachers Leadership Corps

An equally promising program for professional development is the Teachers Leadership Corps (TLC), which consists of 100 elementary and secondary teachers. The TLC teacher leaders are located in five states. All are minority teachers (African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans) who teach mathematics or science. Each of the five states has a cadre of 20 teachers (6 elementary, 6 middle or junior high, and 8 high school) that works with a core group of 5 university faculty members in their region. Each cadre of TLC teacher leaders is responsible for working with their school faculty and other community leaders to design and implement programs that will enable their students, especially minority students, to be more successful in the study of mathematics and science.

TLC teacher leaders experience continuous professional development opportunities through seminars, conferences, and workshops. However, the TLC teacher leaders also provide professional development opportunities by sponsoring miniconferences for their peers and interested members of the community. In addition, they conduct inservice programs for the staff in their schools and use their classrooms as models for the implementation of reform initiatives related to their discipline. TLC teacher leaders also use electronic networking to plan future activities.

Independent evaluations of the Christa McAuliffe and TLC programs reveal that all students, especially those from minority groups and those who are at risk, have benefited academically from the professional development opportunities provided to their teachers. Teachers participating in these programs are better motivated in the classroom, have more confidence in their ability to work with culturally diverse students, have higher expectations for their students, and have emerged as strong advocates of linking education reform and teacher preparation and professional development.

National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS)

The reform initiative with perhaps the most far-reaching potential to reconceptualize and restructure education is the assessment and certification process advocated by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS). The NBPTS certification process is a conversation about professionalizing teaching that has broad implications for initial teacher preparation, professional development of practicing teachers, and teacher certification.

Teachers seeking to become nationally certified are participating in a multifaceted assessment that requires them to demonstrate that they are exemplary teachers. Using portfolios, candidates demonstrate knowledge of their subject matter, understanding of their students, and use of what they consider to be best practices in teaching. By writing case studies about their students, videotaping their classes, maintaining journals, and documenting professional service activities, these teachers provide further evidence of what they know and are able to do as teachers. The teachers are required to analyze their teaching, work collaboratively with other teachers, and demonstrate that they can teach culturally diverse groups of students.

Numerous teachers participating in the pilot phase of the assessment and certification process have commented that it is the most intensive, reflective professional development program in which they have ever participated. Many have stated that it is the first time they have made an in-depth self-examination of how they teach and how students learn. Thus, the NBPTS assessment and certification process has major implications for the professional development of practicing teachers and for the restructuring of the teaching profession (Baratz-Snowden, 1993; Levine, Futrell, & Cushman, 1994).

Preservice teacher education programs also will be affected. As more school districts and states recognize the NBPTS certificate as a sign of teaching excellence, they will expect future teachers to work toward a certificate. To ensure that their graduates are prepared to complete the national assessment and certification process, schools, colleges, and departments of education will need to radically rethink how they prepare teachers.

The George Washington University (GWU) and Norfolk State University (NSU) have formed a partnership to support teachers in 18 school districts in Maryland, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., who want to become nationally certified. These teachers' districts are culturally diverse, ranging from four of the most affluent school districts in the country to districts with extremely limited resources. The districts are rural, suburban, and urban.

The George Washington University and Norfolk State University are incorporating lessons learned from the NBPTS teacher certification project and the content standards movement into their teacher preparation programs. Prospective teachers are encouraged to model the reflective teaching strategies used in the project, demonstrate mastery of content, work collaboratively with their peers, and demonstrate the ability to work effectively in culturally diverse schools. In addition, faculty at the two institutions are encouraged to work with their national professional organizations on the development of standards for their specialty areas and to incorporate the standards into their courses. Thus, graduates from GWU and NSU teacher preparation programs and the teachers participating in the CMI, TLC, and NBPTS programs will be knowledgeable about and prepared to teach the new, more rigorous content and assessment standards to all students.

SUMMARY

For millions of racial and language minority children, children who live in resource-poor urban and rural areas, and children who come from cultures considered non-mainstream, the future rests in the hands of policymakers, community leaders, and educators they will never meet. These children's future depends on the conditions of the schools they attend. It depends on the quality of the ethos in the schools, on whether these schools are culturally responsive to the students they serve. Most important, these children's future depends on the quality of teaching that occurs in their classroom.

The quality of teaching depends on the simultaneous reforming and restructuring of teacher preparation and professional development programs in every state. Schools, colleges, and departments of education cannot help the nation's K–12 schools prepare citizens to meet the challenges of the 21st century if they are unwilling to respond more effectively to and help shape our multicultural, technologically oriented society.

Teacher preparation and professional development programs must prepare teachers to teach the new curriculum content and understand the alignment of new assessments to the curriculum. Teachers, today and tomorrow, need to understand, appreciate, and respect the cultural diversity that defines, and will continue to define, the student populations of America. It requires teachers, counselors, administrators, and communities to create an ethos in every school that nurtures students and helps challenge each one to achieve at his or her highest intellectual capacity.

Equally important to the ethos within the school is the political culture that exists within our communities. The future of democracy in America depends, perhaps more than anytime in our nation's history, on the political will of local, state and national leaders to live up to the promise of quality education for all children. It depends on the political will of communities—local, state, and federal—to invest, not divest, in education reforms that hold real promise for guaranteeing the right of each child to acquire an education that will prepare him or her to live productively in an increasingly global society.

The movement for higher educational standards has taken on a life of its own and continues to progress. It is not the first time in our history that national efforts have been enjoined to infuse more rigorous standards into the nation's schools. But the current movement marks the first time P–12 standards have been simultaneously linked to reforming teachers' preparation and professional development programs. Thus, this standards movement has the potential to truly transform our system of education to level the playing field for children who traditionally have been left behind educationally and economically.

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Location, Location, Location: A Synthesis Perspective on the Knowledge Base for Urban Teacher Education

Jacqueline Jordan Irvine

These chapters were originally presented at a conference at Emory University that was sponsored by The Ford Foundation and CULTURES, The Center for Urban Learning and Teaching and Urban Research in Education and Schools. The conference and this edited volume focused on the need to develop a specific and more comprehensive knowledge base for preservice as well inservice urban teacher education. Specifically, we were concerned about compelling research data (Hodgkinson 1989; Dilworth, 1992) that conclude that by the turn of the century, almost one-half of all public school children will come from culturally diverse backgrounds. Many will be African American students as well immigrant children from places like Mexico and Southeast Asia. It is likely that these students will be enrolled in urban school districts and attend schools with other members of their ethnic group who share similar socioeconomic characteristics.

By contrast, the teachers of these diverse students are not likely to share their cultural attributes or their ethnic identities. AACTE data remind us that the average preservice student is typically a White female from a small town or suburban community who matriculates in a college town less than 100 miles away from home. When asked where they wanted to teach and the kind of students they wanted to teach, these students replied that they wanted to teach in small town America and work with middle-income students of average intelligence (Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992).

As would be expected, many of these teachers end up in urban schools unprepared to teach the culturally diverse students in their classrooms. The outcome is predictable. Haberman (1995) found that these unprepared teachers in urban schools leave at a rate of 10 percent a year. Even more revealing is Haberman's conclusion the majority of certified teacher education graduates never seek jobs in teaching because the only openings are in poor, urban schools—places that these students perceive to be unacceptable sites for employment. One reason that many preservice teachers do not fare well in urban schools with ethnically diverse populations is their limited knowledge of issues of race, culture, and social class. In addition, many of these students did not have field experiences in these settings. The teacher education professors who taught these students and directed their fieldwork are overwhelmingly monocultural and white and few taught in urban schools before they joined college faculties.

These findings are included in a growing body of research that conclude that generic, deconceptualized, and overly prescriptive teacher education programs do not produce thoughtful and reflective teachers for urban schools and that some teacher education programs have left their graduates unprepared to teach the culturally diverse children. There is also evidence that teachers who had taken traditional courses in multicultural education are still unprepared teach diverse students, and there is a growing concern that inadequate and cursory multicultural coursework can lead to more, not less hostility toward culturally different students (Gomez, 1996; Law & Lane, 1987; Paine, 1989; Irvine & York, 1993).

The authors of these chapters have made a major contribution to teacher education by identifying critical areas for teacher development in urban schools related to skills, knowledge, abilities, and attitudes. In synthesizing their various perspectives, I have chosen a familiar slogan from the real estate industry—"What really counts is location, location, location."

The three "location" themes that I have chosen are: location of the cultural self, location of the cultural other, and finally location of knowledge and best practice.

The Location of the Cultural Self

The multicultural teacher education literature (Banks, 1991; Zeichner, 1996; Valli, 1995) frequently refers to the need for teachers to gain an understanding of their own cultural identity and cultural frames of references before tackling the daunting task of understanding the cultural other. Sonia Nieto and Carmen Rolón calls this the "centering and decentering process" in which individual and social categories such as ethnicity, race, gender, and social class intersect and affect one's conscious and unconscious self. Marilyn Cochran-Smith purports that teachers must first come to grips with their own life histories as members of the larger society as well as a members of the teaching profession. She recommends the use of autobiography and alliance that gives teachers "opportunities to challenge interpretive frameworks and deal explicitly with issues of race and racism"—hard talk. Carl Grant adds that the use of narratives and action research are also helpful strategies.

Valerie Ooka Pang believes that this process of centering and decentering produces new roles, relationships, and a new vision for teachers that is produced when teachers discard their "tunnel vision" and their monocultural lens that distort and deceive. Some of the roles that are described by the contributors to this volume are teachers as: cultural mediators, negotiators, family member/nurturer, and political activists who confront political, economic, social, and structural inequalities that their culturally diverse students face in schools and in society at large.

THE LOCATION OF THE CULTURAL OTHER

The second theme is related to the location of the cultural other or as Nieto and Rolón state, "Understanding the ways otherness is socially constructed." This process includes gaining knowledge of the history and oppression of cultural groups. Hilliard emphasizes that the absence of a systematic study of history and culture has lead to definitional problems where teaching and learning problems are defined as problems of student, family, and community deficiencies.

In addition to understanding the history of the cultural other, Pang writes convincingly about caring for and understanding the whole child and the remarkable diversity within cultural groups. Understanding the whole child helps teachers to resist stereotypes and simplistic formalism like the myth of model minority and prevents the generation of what Grant refers to as useless lists and magic bullets about the cultural other. One strategy endorsed by Hilliard, Nieto and Rolón, and Pang is to gain knowledge of diverse students' family and community outside of the confining bureaucratic structure of schools.

THE LOCATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND BEST PRACTICE

Grant is eloquent in his call for a relocation of teacher education knowledge to include not just traditional, mainstream knowledge but the experiences of previously excluded groups. He calls teacher educators to focus their attention on issues related to the structure of knowledge and its relationship and connection with issues of race, class, gender, power, and privilege. Using Grossman's model for knowledge base in teacher education, Grant outlines a process that can be used to examine multicultural teacher education.

Mary Hatwood Futrell and Elaine Witty contribute to this discussion of teachers as knowledge constructors. The authors state that teachers should be efficacious standard bearers with high expectations who teach more not less and believe, "They can if I will." The Futrell and Witty chapter is also helpful in that it outlines the knowledge base and standards of professional organizations like NBPTS and NCATE.

Futrell and Witty, Grant, and Cochran-Smith emphasize that mastery of curriculum content and new modes of assessment are critical components of teachers' knowledge. Grant warns us not to prematurely discard the discussion of skills development, and he and Cochran-Smith believe that teachers need a thorough knowledge of their subject matter content for the purpose of generating multiple representations, metaphors, and connections. In the teacher education literature, these forms of pedagogy are known and referred to as culturally relevant, culturally congruent, culturally responsive. Finally, location of knowledge is accompanied by the location of sites that exemplify best practice. Hilliard emphasizes the need for teacher educators to tell teachers about successful educational practices and their accompanying philosophies that come from the continent of Africa. He calls for the selection of sites for field experience where there are more than a few successful teachers but successful schools. The importance of providing students with successful authentic cultural field experiences was raised by each writer in this book. Hilliard cautions that unless university faculty model these cultural behaviors in their own teaching, it is unlikely that their teacher education students will ever learn and adopt these cultural behaviors in their own teaching.

In conclusion, the topic of educating and developing teachers for our growing diverse society should be at the top of the agenda of every teacher education organization. Our profession's credibility is intricately related to our ability and commitment to produce teachers for urban diverse students. The scholarship and reflections of these writers have provide a framework for further discussion and debate.

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